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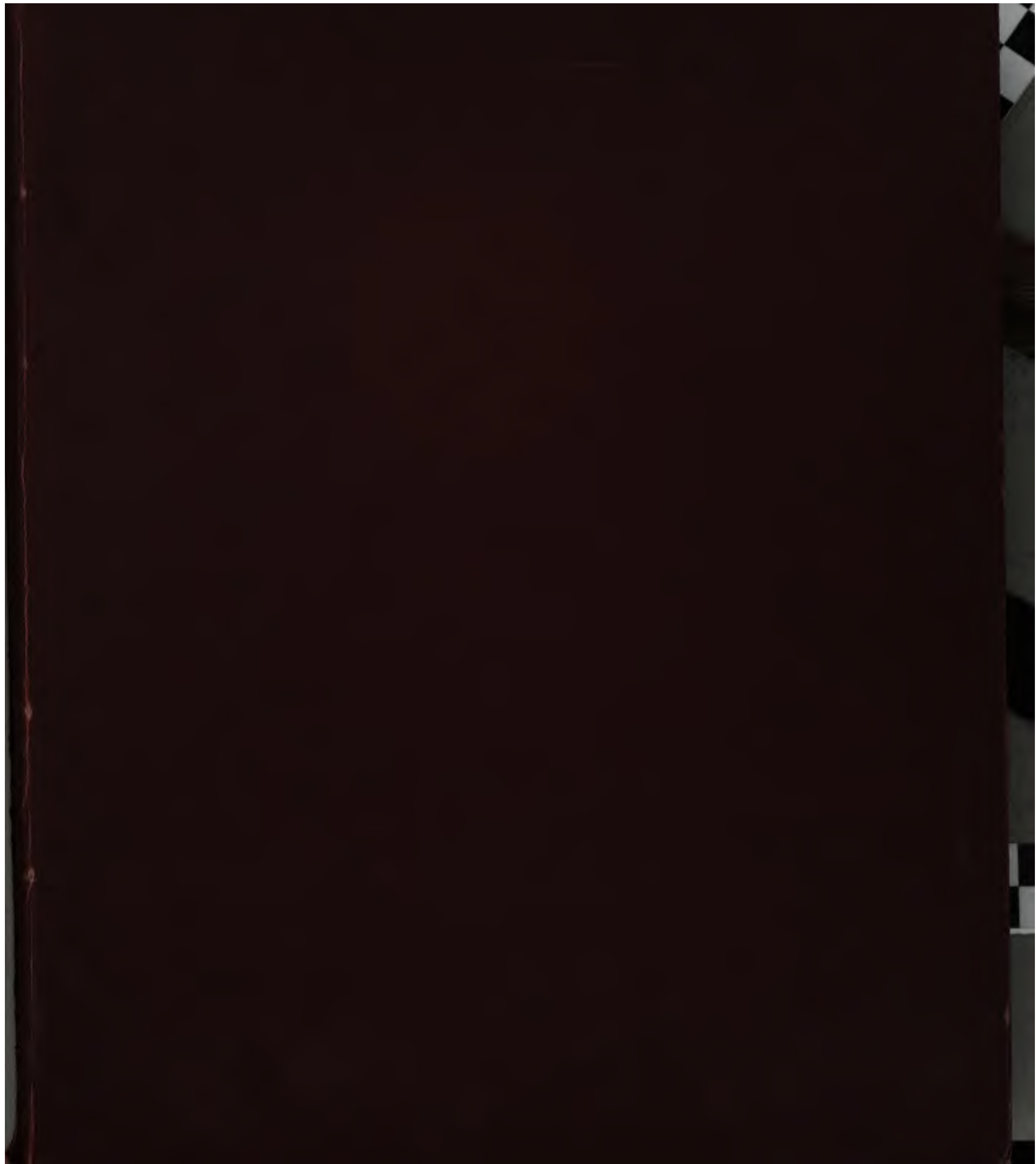
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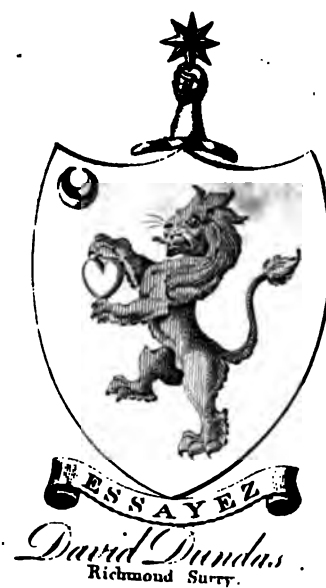
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C U R I A L I A:
O R,
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
O F
S O M E B R A N C H E S
O F T H E
ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, &c. &c:
P A R T S I V. A N D V.

- CONSISTING OF
- I. A SUCCINCT HISTORY of SOMERSET HOUSE,
From the Commencement of its Erection in 1549.
 - II. A DISSERTATION on the ANCIENT ESTABLISHMENT
and FUNCTION of the SERJEANT AT ARMS.

IN TWO LETTERS,
ADDRESSED TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,
FROM
SAMUEL PEGGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS AND SON,
RED LION PASSAGE, FLEET STREET. 1806.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publication of these Collections is strictly conformable to the testamentary wishes of their worthy Author, who consigned them for that express purpose to their present Editor.

Long and intimately acquainted both with the accuracy and the diffidence of Mr. PEGGE, I might have hesitated in offering his posthumous Essays to the Publick, if the plan of them had not been clearly defined; and if even such of them as are not actually completed were not sufficiently outlined, to be creditable to the reputation he had already acquired by the former parts of his "Curialia," and by his "Anecdotes of the English Language;" a reputation which had descended to him by *hereditary right*.

The History of SOMERSET HOUSE was with him a favourite subject; and to this, with the exception of the two concluding pages, he had put the finishing hand.

The Plans and Description of DENMARK HOUSE (as this Palace was for some time called) and the Catalogue of the Pictures and Curiosities of King CHARLES the First, have been communicated by Mr. GOUGH.

The Differtation on the Office of SERJEANT at ARMS was announced by the Author in his Introduction to the History of the GENTLEMEN PENSIONERS; and was by himself nearly prepared for the Press.

That these Collections may not be extended to any unreasonable length, they shall be completed, at the utmost, in Three succeeding Parts.

J. N.

St. George's-day, 1806.

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[1]

C U R I A L I A :

PART IV.

A SUCCINCT HISTORY

O F

S O M E R S E T H O U S E .

To the President of the Society of Antiquaries, London.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER the interest you have taken in Old London, including Westminster, I hope I may be excused in addressing to you an account of a building now no more ; but which embraces a larger portion of history than ever fell to the lot of a private edifice, when taken with all its concomitant circumstances — I mean SOMERSET House ; which, having been founded in the middle of the sixteenth century, and begun to be demolished at the latter end of the eighteenth, is now become within the pale of Antiquity. *That* alone, however, is not what places it within my cognizance ; for in a very few years after its foundation it became the property of the Crown, and has ever since carried with it such Royal Appendages as may, with no impropriety, bring it under the general title of this Work.

B:

All

All that has been hitherto said of it is so very much dispersed in the works of writers of different complexions and parties, that no dispassionate account has been given of it ; nor has any been compressed into an uninterrupted narrative.

In this attempt I foresee that I shall be obliged to combat some received opinions ; but such must always be the case where historians have implicitly copied each other ; for when traditions have passed muster for three centuries, their verity is seldom afterwards brought to the test.

The Duke of Somerset, because he was unfortunate, or misguided (call it which you please), was loaded with calumny by the enemies of his time ; and no subsequent advocate has thought it worth his while to brush off, however lightly, any part of the aspersions.

I cannot think the Duke so culpable, with respect to the demolition of edifices once deemed sacred, as he is generally represented to have been by Strype, Spelman, Sir Richard Baker, and even his advocate Mr. Strype himself in his Memorials. It may be allowed, I conceive, that he, a Protestant, maternal uncle to a Protestant King, and Lord Protector of his Person and Realm, might avail himself of opportunities to enlarge his possessions, or gratify his pride, at the expence of the Roman Catholics, consistently with the King's power, by any means that were legal ; or even that he should take momentary advantages of the venality of some wavering Ecclesiastics of that time. Beyond that line I shall not attempt to justify him ; and in the course of this little memoir circumstances will occur which, perhaps, may remove some ideas of sacrilegious oppression so heinously charged on the Duke ; but all facts which will not admit of
probable

probable extenuation shall be fairly confessed. Perhaps many of the Duke's political procedures will admit of no more than bare political justification. Dictatorial influence, when once obtained, will often over-balance the strongest judgment, and is not easily resigned without a struggle; while the love of dominion will oppose every measure which does not flow from its own source. Such have been the characteristic propensities of every Minister from that day to this. But the vindication of his Grace is not the primary object before us, unless the evidence in his favour arise out of the matter itself. I am to be the historian of the Palace, and not of the Protector. It would be very uncomplimentary to you, Sir, to bring forward in detail the circumstances of the Duke's life; and yet it may not be altogether extraneous to throw out some few outlines of the leading features, as far as they are necessarily incorporated with the intended plan. Let it be remembered, at the time when all his Grace's projected grandeur began, that he lived under the influence of his second wife, the most arrogant, turbulent, and ambitious woman of her time. That circumstance may singly account for many steps which led her husband to the scaffold; for the truth of which assertion we have the testimony of the King himself, transmitted to us by a writer hostile to the Duke, I mean Sir John Hayward*.

It is well known that Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, &c. and at length Duke of Somerset, owed his titular dignities, and much of his fortunes, during the little time they lasted, to his Sister's advancement to the throne. His Grace was, however, of a knightly family;

* Life of King Edward, 2d edit. 1636. p. 134.

and Jane Seymour, when the King became her suitor, had been a Maid of Honour to Queen Anne Bulleigne. The marriage of King Henry with Queen Jane was a certain preparatory step to the elevation of her near relations, as it had previously been to those of Anne Bulleigne, and, indeed, equally fatal to both. The pride of the Nobility of that time was ever alarmed at the sudden aggrandizement of private gentlemen thus introduced among them; and, having themselves been early trained to state-intrigues, generally overpowered them, and often brought them to the block, for imaginary treasons, or for inadvertencies magnified into capital offences.

King Henry married Jane Seymour on the 20th of May, 1536, and immediately advanced her eldest brother Edward, the founder of this memoir, to the peerage.

Being bred to arms, he had received the honour of knighthood, in the wars with France, from the Duke of Suffolk, in the year 1523, when Catharine of Arragon shared Henry's throne. Nothing at that time could be more unexpected than Sir Edward's future honours. It was not till ten years afterwards that the unfortunate Catharine was divorced; and Anne Bulleigne was married to the King, *viz.* in the year 1533. In three years afterwards, Jane Seymour succeeded Anne; and the royal marriage was solemnized May 20, 1536. Sir Edward was at that time about the King's person, as one of the Knights of the Body; and, in consequence of this new affinity, was created, on the 5th of the following June, Viscount BEAUCHAMP. The birth of a son was so acceptable to king Henry, that, in October 1537, a few days after the Prince's baptism, the Viscount Beauchamp received the advanced

vanced title of Earl of HERTFORD; and further, in January, 1541-2 (possibly on the first vacancy), his Lordship was elected a Knight of the Garter, and in a few months afterwards was constituted Lord Great Chamberlain for life. In addition to these honours, the King took the Earl into his especial favour, which virtually extended even beyond the King's life.

Bishop Burnet tells us *, that the King, a little before his death, having observed a decay in a number of the Nobility, by attainders and otherwise, had resolved to create some new peers, as also to elevate those of inferior orders who were highest in his esteem and confidence, inasmuch that minutes were actually made by the Secretaries of such his Majesty's gracious intentions. Although the King had, at the time, married three wives since the death of Queen Jane, yet, as she had brought him a son, the want of which he had so long regretted, the interests of her co-relatives remained entire. The Earl of Hertford, therefore, was nominated to a Dukedom, with a choice of any of the vacant titles of SOMERSET, EXETER, or HERTFORD, (together with the Earldom of Wiltshire for his son); to which dignities were to be added the high offices of Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer. At this moment, however, the King was approaching so near to his dissolution, that, finding he could not fulfil his purposes, he ordered them to be expressed in his will, to be perfected by his executors.

After the demise of King Henry, on the 28th of January, 1546-7, these his wishes were complied with, in respect to

* History of the Reformation, vol. II. p. 6. fol.

the Earl of Hertford, who was, moreover, unanimously elected, by the Privy Council, on the 1st of February, Governor of the King's Person, and Protector of his Realms, until his Majesty should attain the age of eighteen years. Proclamation was made accordingly in the usual public places by the Heralds, with sound of trumpet, through the city of London. On the 10th of February he was constituted Lord Treasurer; and, on the 16th of the same month, was created Duke of SOMERSET; and again, on the 17th, was appointed Earl Marshal. His patent for the office of Protector and Governor was sealed on the 12th of March; to which was annexed, on the succeeding 9th of July, 1547, a stipend of eight thousand marks (or five thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence *per annum*, during the time of his Protectorate *.)

This little previous history brings us nearly to the time when the building before us may be supposed to have been planned: but we shall find some chronological discordances among the writers who have mentioned it. They speak without any latitude, as if such a mansion was the production of a few months. There was much to be preconcerted, obtained, and demolished, before any edifice could be constructed; though the commencement of the building is generally imputed to the year 1549, which date does not leave sufficient time for any material part of it to arise before the Protector lost his power†. It will be necessary, therefore, if possible, to throw the origination farther back: and some-

* Collins's Peerage, from the King's Warrants.

† See Stowe.

thing

thing may be found which will considerably reconcile these chronological differences.

The great scale on which it was afterwards erected was possibly planned soon after the Duke became Protector; for the actual demolition is stated to have commenced in this year, 1549; but, at the same time, there seems to have been inducements in the choice of this particular situation; and, if so, one would think that it was not a foundation absolutely *de novo*; for there is a letter existing from the Duke to Lord Cobham, dated from Somerset Place, so early after King Edward's accession as October 26, 1547; and another, February 19, 1547, O. S. which would now be called 1548, nearly two years before any thing is mentioned by historians of the above demolitions*. Hence we are led to conclude, that his Grace either had a house on this site in his own right, which he named SOMERSET PLACE, after he was created a Duke, or that such house had been the property of a former Duke of Somerset, and was granted to him with the title. This circumstance might give his Grace a predilection for that situation, with a wish to enlarge his buildings as far as possible, though without due regard to delicacy or decency in the means he adopted. The Duchess was proud and aspiring, notwithstanding she was at the pinnacle of every honour below Royalty; and could not perhaps bear to be confined and elbowed by lawyers and bishops, whose lands would add so much to the enlargement of her own territory. This, I confess, is but plausible, and not very complaisant, conjecture; but, however, chronology will not authorize us to say

* Bibl. Harl. N. 284. fol. 27.

that

that the Duke finished his plan, and then gave it the name of SOMERSET HOUSE, as it is fully evident, as will appear hereafter, that his Grace never lived to perfect the intended work.

But let us proceed regularly with the building; and, in order to account for the *Somerset Place* mentioned in 1547, we will suppose, after the Duke had got possession of the first of the condemned edifices, that he inhabited it, and gave it his own titular name, till the rest were obtained, or were pulling down, and the great plan was ripe for execution. The Duke's situation, in any point of view, either from his near alliance to the King, or from his high posts, entitled him, at this period, to a splendid mansion; and his interest and authority as easily procured to him grants of land for the purpose.

If this is not sufficiently conclusive, I shall offer the testimony of Stowe, a living witness of the whole transaction, who, speaking of the demolition of buildings upon the site of these erections, says, in his own second edition of his *Survey*, quarto, 1603, that the Duke, "in place thereof, raised " that large and beautiful house, *but yet unfinished*, called " SOMERSET HOUSE *."

The Duke's final sentence took away, with his life, his honours and his estates, when this house fell to the king, and was never again granted to a subject. His Grace's son was restored to the Earldom of Hertford by Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1558; but as the house was reserved by the Crown, we must look to future times, even after the date of 1603, when Stowe speaks of it as unfinished, for any further degree of perfection.

* P. 78.

The

The letter to Lord Cobham was dated but a little more than seven months after his Grace's patent for the office of Protector had been sealed; which interval had been principally consumed in negotiating a marriage between King Edward and Mary Stewart, afterwards the unfortunate Queen of Scots, and the Invasion of Scotland, when he was personally present at the battle of Muffelburgh, which was fought on the 10th of September. I am therefore induced to think that the Duke meditated the erection of this sumptuous edifice as soon as he became Protector; and that, having a predilection for the capabilities of this spot, he obtained soon afterwards a grant of some habitable part of the premises, to which he gave the name of SOMERSET PLACE, from whence the before-mentioned letter is dated.

At the same time that a smaller mansion was actually in possession, his Grace probably foresaw there was an evident facility of obtaining by further grant, by exchange, by negotiation, or by honest promises, as much ground as he at first designed his plan should occupy. As most builders do, he probably reckoned without his host, which drove him to some unguarded measures to obtain materials. The anachronism, about which we are contending, seems to have been rectified by Mr. Delahay Gordon in his *Life and Trial of the Duke of Somerset* (though he does not give us his authority), wherein he says that the building was begun in the year 1548*; by which I would understand that the demolitions to be made upon the site had all taken place, the ground was cleared, and the foundations laid. This correction in the date will coin-

* Gordon's *Lives*, 8vo. 1760. I. p. 341.

cide very well with the time that is necessary to bring a building of this magnitude to any tolerably advanced state for residence, before the Duke's disgrace commenced. Mr. Gordon, in common with other writers, throws some blame on his Grace for being so solicitous about this edifice, while the nation was engaged in expensive wars, and at a time when the plague raged in London. He forgets that there was a Dutchess of Somerset, whose vanity and pride raged full as much. He adds, that the Duke imported architects from Italy; and closes by observing, that his Grace "was designing such a house as had not been seen in England." Mr. Walpole admits that his Grace employed John de Padua, an Italian architect; but does not charge the Duke with importing him for the purpose, as he was then in England, and had been previously employed:—but let that pass for the present.

Mr. Gordon has left us at large in the year 1548, when the intended edifice seems to have taken root (though he has not said at what part of the year it was planted); and here we must leave it to grow till it was severely "nipped by a chilling frost" in the course of the following year.

Taking the date of the design from March 12, 1547*, when his Grace's patent of Lord Protector was sealed, the Duke had more than two years and an half to proceed with his edifice before he first fell into disgrace*.

On the 13th of October, 1549, the patent constituting him Lord Protector was revoked; and his other great offices above-

* I find it necessary to be very accurate in fractional dates, occasioned by the then Old and New Style, as that debateable part of the year, between January 1, and March 25, will otherwise produce chronological confusion.

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mentioned being taken from him, he was committed to the Tower; soon after which he was deprived of all his estates, which were given to the Crown by Parliament. His patrimonial property comprized several manors, parks, and forests, in Wiltshire; to which may be added many lordships, lands, and tenements, granted to him in other parts of the kingdom.

These estates are particularized by Mr. Strype in his Memorials *; and Bishop Burnet likewise tells us that the Duke was fined, by act of parliament, in two thousand pounds a year of land; and that he lost all his goods and offices †.

To this may be subjoined, from the same authority, that on the Duke's release from the Tower, in the following February, 154²/₂, he was bound to his good behaviour in a penalty of ten thousand pounds, and restrained to live, either (by royal favour) at the King's House at Shene, or at his own at Sion, which last we may suppose he was indulged to keep; and not to depart four miles from them, nor to come to the King or the Council, unless he were called ‡.

All, then, that the Duke had expended upon this stately pile, either in building or furnishing, must be confined to the interval between the 12th of March, 154⁶/₇, (or thereabouts), and the 13th of October, 1549, when we no longer behold the opulent Protector, &c. &c. but the mere titular Duke of Somerset, reduced to comparative indigence, without revenues equal to the habitual necessities adequate to his dignity.

* Vol. II. p. 308. which amounted to two thousand pounds *per annum*; a large property at that time.

† History of the Reformation, II. 142.

‡ Idem in cod. There is a letter dated from thence in Bibl. Harl.

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In this humiliated state his Grace remained for some months, supported only by the secret and oblique bounty of the King his Nephew.

“The Duke,” says Mr. Strype, “in his late fall (meaning his first commitment to the Tower), had been fleeced of all, not only his beneficial places and offices, but also of his lands and revenues; and was now reduced to narrow circumstances, and therefore was to make his fortunes again as well as he could. This his condition his Nephew the King considered, and helped him as much as he might, which appeareth in this that followeth: The King was now, soon after the 25th of March, 1550, to send hostages into France, consisting of persons of the best Nobility, that might answer the French hostages sent hither. Among the rest, the Earl of Hertford, son and heir to the Duke, and the King’s cousin, was one; and the King was at the charge of setting him out, which I do not find he did to any other: for to Francis Newdigate, steward to the Duke, the King granted two hundred marks by way of gift toward the charge of the said Earl’s furniture *. To the Duke was also given two hundred and forty-six pounds, six shillings, and three pence, in recompence of the charges of the board-wages of certain of the servants attending upon the Earl in France. About the same time, to the Duke was paid five hundred pounds, bequeathed to him by King Henry’s last will, which was paid upon account of his present need, as I must suppose; that legacy having, in effect, been before satisfied, when, in the first

* I beg you would observe the name of Francis Newdigate, who will be mentioned in a different light hereafter.

“year

“ year of the King, the said Duke had a grant of divers lands *
“ and lordships, partly in consideration of services, and
“ partly for fulfilling the King’s last will, as it ran in the
“ Book of Sales †.”

Not long after this, the Duke was restored to some part of his property, and particularly to that of which we are speaking, the site and environs of Somerset Place. Mr. Strype, in another place, tells us, that his Grace, “ after his imprisonment, submission, and pardon, was called, on the 10th of April, 1550, to the Privy Council ; and who sued for himself to be again admitted to the Privy Chamber, and was so on the 14th of the next month. His estate being forfeited and given to the Crown by Parliament, the King, in his third and fourth year (some time between January 1, and March 25th following), of his special favor, and at the humble petition of the Lords of his Council, by patent, sealed June 4th, gave him back of that, it seems, which had been his before, *viz.* the castle of Marlborough, and all his lordships and manors of Barton, Ludgershal, &c. and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Middlesex, &c. ‡”

The Duke’s property in Middlesex, as far as it concerns the vicinity of Somerset House, covered all Covent Garden, and its large adjacencies, in every direction ; together with Long Acre, which, of itself, contains seven acres. These premises were in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (for Covent

* The original estate or house in the Strand, called *Somerset Place*, might be part of these lands.

† Strype’s Memorials, II. p. 232.

‡ *Ibidem.*

Garden was not separately parochiated till 1645), and contained nearly all of that district which has since become the estate of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, granted to his ancestors soon after the final attainder of the Duke of Somerset, 1552*.

Notwithstanding these retardations, the Duke was so sanguine to compleat his design, that, as soon as he had obtained the promise of a pardon, he resumed the business of his edifice, so far at least as extended to the provision of materials; for, by Stowe's account, the demolition of the steeple, and great part of the church, belonging to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, dissolved in the late reign, commenced on the 10th of April, 1550; whereas the plenary pardon was not sealed till the 19th of the following month of July†. It was further laboured, by his Grace's friends in the Parliament, to procure his restoration to the Protectorate; but they did not succeed. We are now brought to the close of the year 1550, in the course of which every healing step had been taken to unite the interests of the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Warwick, by a marriage of the Duke's eldest daughter with the Viscount Lisle, the Earl's eldest son; at which ceremony the King himself was present, to evince his zeal for a reconciliation between these conflicting Noblemen.

This did not suffice. The truth was, that when King Edward acceded to the throne at 10 years of age, and though his majority was fixed to his 18th year by King Henry's will, yet was there a regency of eight years, humanly speaking, to be contended for by the most powerful of the nobility; and he

* Stowe's Survey, Book VI: p. 88. Strype's edition.

† Stowe's Survey, and Collins's Peerage.

who

who obtained it was to have been, during that interval, "The King's King." From the moment that the high office of Protector was conferred upon the Duke of Somerset, a Peer of yesterday, notwithstanding he was the King's Uncle, the Earl of Warwick, a modern Peer of disgraceful origin, but of boundless ambition, held the doctrine, in concert with other jealous Nobles, that "*Delenda est Carthago*;" and nothing was left undone, or unattempted, to supplant his Grace. The Duke, it is true, was popular; but the Earl was powerful, and had a superior party in the Council. The King, to cement more closely the interests of himself and his uncle with those of the Earl of Warwick, created him, A.D. 1551, Duke of Northumberland: but even this did not operate; for nothing would satisfy him but the blood of Somerset. The closing scene of the Duke of Somerset's life, I need not say, was on the scaffold, on the 22d of January, 1552, on a charge which amounted to no more than a doubtful act of felony, and which the King's Ministers would not allow him to pardon.

This fatal conclusion of the Duke's life, immaterial as it may appear to us at this distance of time, had an excellent and invaluable effect on our criminal laws, from which every unfortunate culprit, at this day, receives a very essential benefit. The evidence against the Duke consisted merely of written depositions, unsupported by oral testimony, and was withal so weak, that a law was made, in consequence of it, which enacted that witnesses, in all cases, should hereafter be brought face to face with the prisoner, and examined in his presence*.

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. III. p. 256.

There

There has seldom been a greater contrariety of written opinions than those which concern the character and fate of this Nobleman. One charge is that of signing the warrant for the execution of his brother, which, had it depended upon, and been fought for by the Duke, would have been unnatural and a fratricide: but, on the other hand, it was his duty as Protector and the King's Vicegerent, and he was no more to blame, simply considered as such, than a Judge who passes a sentence. No doubt he had the feelings of a brother, which he could not be allowed to indulge.

From this detail of unfortunate events which attended the Duke's life, particularly as to finances, I would infer that, from the first impeachment of his Grace in October 1549, and the consequent forfeiture of his great offices and estates, he was never in a state of opulence equal to the vigorous execution of so great a design as the erection of Somerset House. The partial restitution of his patrimonial property would scarcely furnish a superfluity of money to lavish on a state-building, begun upon high ideas of the plenitude of power and wealth; while, at the same time, the Duke was to live in a style of dignity becoming the rank of the King's uncle. On the other hand, it will appear, in the course of this memoir, that the Duke's designs were never completed, and that the house remained unfinished even to the moment of its total demolition. Something towards perfection will be found to have been attempted: but the future possessors never had sufficient inducements to render it entirely uniform in all points; and yet the front to the river, as far as mere façade will go, had a very consistent regularity in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, if we may rely on Ralph Aggas's plan of London made about the
the

the year 1560 *. Both Stowe and Norden, who remembered the House nearly in the same state in which the Duke of Somerset left it, agree that it was not fully finished even at the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who, having other Palaces more adapted to her large establishment, left it as she found it. Let it be observed, however, that, from Aggas's representation of it, the front to the river was then perfectly uniform to the eye, though the interior parts of the structure might remain unfinished from the unexpected fate of the unfortunate Duke.

Thus much, Sir, (and perhaps too much), I have thought it necessary to say of the founder of the edifice, and shall now proceed to enquire what buildings were demolished to make room for it, and what other structures collaterally aided its erection.

Those which occupied the space on which Somerset House originally stood were principally,

I. An Inn of Chancery, promiscuously called Strand Inn and Chester's Inn †.

II. The Episcopal House of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, then also known by the name of The Bishop of Chester's Inn.

III. The Episcopal House of the Bishop of Landaff ‡.

* Ralph Aggas's Plan was cut in wood. George Vertue engraved it on pewter 1748, which was republished 1776, by the Society of Antiquaries, who bought Vertue's plates. See more of Aggas, and this ancient plan, in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers.

† Maitland confounds Chester Inn and Strand Inn; "which, from its neighbourhood to the Bishop of Chester's house, and the Strand, was indifferently denominated Chester's, or Strand Inn," p. 739.

‡ "Almost contiguous to this Inn, on the West, was the city mansion of the Bishop of Landaff."

Maitland, p. 729.

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IV. The

IV. The Episcopal House of the Bishop of Worcester.

V. The Church of St. Mary-le-Strand, and its Cemetery *.

VI. The Strand Bridge †.

These were found upon the spot; but others were afterwards engrafted, and by their demolition furnished materials, both of wood and stone, necessary for the execution of so large a design; all which will be specified hereafter. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall call this equivocal building Strand Inn.

II. *Chester's Inn, or Strand Inn.*

The ancient bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry extended over the whole county of Lancaster, some of the western parts of Yorkshire, and all Cheshire, exclusive of its present jurisdiction; at which time it was, for a considerable number of years, called the Bishoprick of Chester, though the reason of such appellation had but a slender pretension. The revenues and domain of this see were once so large, that in the eighth century, Offa King of Mercia prevailed on the Pope to erect it into an Archbishoprick. This dignity, however, did not continue long; for it is Bishop Godwin's opinion, that Aldulf, in whose favour such Archiepiscopal rank was conferred, was the first and the last Archbishop that sat

* The New Church is in the patronage of the Bishop of Worcester, the West end being opposite to the place where the old church stood.

† On the North-West of the Bishop of Landaff's house, "a little East of the present Catherine-street, in the high street, was a handsome bridge, denominated, from its situation, *Strand Bridge*, through which ran a small watercourse from the fields, which, gliding along a lane below, had its influx to the Thames near Somerset House."

Maitland, p. 739.

there.

there *. The opulence of this see, in either case, would challenge a large hotel (or inn) in the Metropolis, whenever the Prelate's residence there became necessary ; which leads one to suppose, that what was called Chester's Inn, as a Law Society, was not at one time too large for the Bishop and his household, while the revenues continued to be so ample ; and, on the other hand, that, when the revenues were curtailed, there were prudential reasons for letting of the episcopal house upon a reserved rent to the Middle Temple. The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry who removed his residence to Chester was Peter the 33d Bishop, who, says Bishop Godwin, "forfaking Lichfield, removed his episcopal see to Chester in the year 1075. He died in the year 1086, and "was buried at Chester†." This migration seems to have introduced the promiscuous appellation of Chester among the titles of that See, the Bishops of which had thitherto been named, either of Coventry and Lichfield, or Lichfield and Coventry, according as they resided at the one or the other place. Peter had his abode at Chester no more than eleven years ; but it was sufficient to give him a new appellation, and I am willing to suppose that the Inn of Law took its name at this time, and that every subsequent mansion appropriated to this see followed the example, though the Bishop of Chester's Inn, which preserved the name in the time of King Edward VI. was of a later erection. The Bishop who succeeded Peter was Robert de Limesey. He removed his see from Chester to Coventry A. D. 1095, and dying A. D. 1116 was buried at Coventry‡. After his decease the successors re-

* Godwin de Præsulibus, English edit. quarto, 1615, p. 316

† Ibid. p. 317.

‡ Ibid. ubi supra.

turned to Lichfield; but these three titles were still used in common to express the Bishop of that see, although the Inn of Chancery retained the name of Chester's Inn to the last, notwithstanding that the appellation of the see had been so often changed. It is true that, not long before the building of Somerset House the present bishoprick of Chester was parcelled out of the Bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry by King Henry VIII. A. D. 1540, when those of Oxford, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Bristol, were likewise erected; but none of these new Bishops (even in Sir Henry Spelman's time) had any episcopal house in London*. Chester's Inn cannot therefore look to the foundation of Henry VIII. for its appellation, as it was an Inn of Chancery in the preceding century, and long before; and Occleve† the poet, who lived in the reign of Henry IV. V. or VI. had his education in it, having been designed for the profession of the Law‡. No doubt, therefore, can remain but that the Inn before us, large as it is represented to have been, took one of its names from the Bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry during the time that the see was best known by that of the Bishoprick of Chester; and that it had formerly been the actual Place or Inn of sojournment for such Bishops when in their plenitude of wealth, as often as public affairs or ecclesiastical business called them to the Metropolis. The other appellation of Strand Inn was merely local.

As an Inn of Chancery, it was a member of the Middle-Temple; and Sir Henry Spelman tells us that it was the

* Reliq. Spelm. p. 214.

† Or, as he wrote it himself, *Hoccleve*.

‡ Bishop Tanner's Biblioth. Brit. p. 557. Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting. Mr. Warton's History of Poetry.

largest

largest Inn of the kind belonging to any of the Inns of Court *. Sir William Dugdale, in his "Origines Juridiciales," is very sparing in his account of it, and contents himself with barely saying that it had existed, and was pulled down by the Duke of Somerset. He gives it no other appellation than Strand Inn. Stowe is very accurate in his description of this Inn; for, says he, "near adjoining to the said church (*viz.* St. Mary in the Strand), betwixt it and the River of Thames, "was an Inne of Chancery, commonly called Chester's Inne, "because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester; by others "named, of the situation, Strand Inn †."

It has been said, on the authority of Sir Henry Spelman ‡, that the *Strand Inn* was the largest inn of Chancery at the time of its demolition, which will by no means accord with what we know of the actual dimensions of the house, on the same site with itself, belonging to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and which shared the like fate. It was perhaps large enough, in its impaired state, to contain the Bishop of that see, together with a few domesticks.

It may be difficult to discern at this time of day when this Inn became appropriated to students of the law; historians who have mentioned it are silent on that head, but one would imagine it was not long after the title of Bishop of Chester

* Though the largest of these Inns, it could not be considerably more extensive than the rest; and probably the society of the Middle Temple were gainers by receiving a greater extent of ground, part of the Duke of Somerset's estate, whereon was built the present New-Inn. Perhaps their lease or term in Chester's Inn might be nearly expired. The Duke's business was to obtain it at any rate.

† Survey of London, quarto, 1603, p. 446.

‡ Reliq. Spelm. p. 213.

had

had been assumed by the Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry which lasted no longer than from 1075 to 1102. Thus much we know, that Hugh (de Novant) Bishop of Coventry, purchased an house for himself and successors in the city of London before the year 1198, wherein he died. On this occasion I am bold enough to presume he might let his episcopal house in the Strand to the Society of the Middle Temple, and thereby improve the revenues of the see. Roger de Mulent, on the other hand A. D. 1257, might find the situation of this house too far from the Court; and therefore without disturbing the Society of young lawyers (even if he had power to have done it) bought, as we find he did, a house with appurtenances; adjoining to the Inn of which house, by the description above given, the ground on which the episcopal house stood at the time when the Protector planned his building, made a part, though not considerable in itself, of the area which afterwards became the foundation of Somerset House. As to the identical prelatical edifice which was taken down by the Duke, it seems to have been the work of Walter de Langton, who was a great benefactor to the buildings &c. belonging to the see of Lichfield; and Bishop Godwin says expressly, that among other such public works he erected "the Palace by the Strand at London*." Bishop Langton died there, A. D. 1321. at which time the see was known only by the style of Lichfield or Coventry. Chetter's Inn preserved at the same time it's ancient appellation, and was so called at the time of it's demolition, as an Inn of Chancery, while the Episcopal House of the then Bishop of Lichfield and

* Godwin, English edit. 1615, 4to, p. 325.

Coventry,

Coventry, called the Bishop of Chester's Inn, was separately specified to have been taken down, and is so repeatedly distinguished by Stowe from the Strand Inn of Chancery, that, in his account, it is impossible to confound them, as they are more than once both specified in the same sentence*. It was therefore no part of the erection of Walter de Langton, though the ground-rent probably was the property of the see of Lichfield.

As there is not even an ostensible recompense for the house thus lost to the succeeding Bishops of Lichfield, we are led to enquire into the character of the Bishop sitting at the time, who appears to have been Richard Sampson. This prelate, though he had been an advocate for the King's supremacy in opposition to the Church of Rome, and had even written in support of the cause in the reign of King Henry VIII. yet, at the time of which we are speaking, had relapsed into Papistry, and avowed it in the second year of King Edward. Under such a disadvantageous claim to the royal favour, this Bishop would more placidly relinquish gratuitously a part of his episcopal possessions to the Duke of Somerset, a zealous Protestant, than hazard impending deprivation from his bishoprick by an obstinate refusal. At this time it is likewise more than possible that all the ground on the site appertaining to the see of Lichfield, both Chester's Inn, and

* "Then had ye the Bp. of Ch'r's Inn, and close adjoining to it the Bp. of Worcester's Inn; all which, to wit, the parish ch'ch of St. M'ry Strand, the Inn of Chancery called Strand Inn, the Bridge called Strand Bridge w'th the lane under it, the Bp. of Chester's Inn and the Bp. of Worcester's Inn, with all the tenem'ts to them adjoining, was by comm'd of, &c. pull'd down and made plain ground in the y'r 1549, in place whereof he builded the large and goodly house now call'd Somerset House."

Stowe's Autograph, Bibl. Harl. N° 538.

the episcopal mansion, were surrendered up, severed from the Bishop past redemption,[†] and speedily covered with buildings, which soon afterwards became vested in the Crown by the Duke's attainder. Bishop Sampson sat at Lichfield from 1543 to 1554, when he died. Under Queen Mary, in the year 1553, he interested himself actively in opposing the married clergy, and many of them were deprived; such was this affected Protestant under King Henry *. As to the see, more than what has been surmised, we are told that he for some reason, perhaps not much to his honour, exchanged the two manors of Beaudefert and Shuckborough for two benefices, by which transaction the income of the see was impoverished, though the patronage was enlarged †. The livings and the manors were at that time, says my author, reputed to be of equal value; but the royalty was not lost. The owners of the manors and the rectors of the livings may decide upon their value respectively at this day; and then let us hear whether any solid consolation is left for the sitting Bishop of our time.

As to the house belonging to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, or Chester's Inn, we are left to suppose that there was a recompence in some shape or other, unless the then Bishop was obnoxious, as we have already stated to have been the case. Stripping bishops of part of their patronage, their houses, or even a portion of their revenues, on slender pretensions, in such cases, was the practice of the sovereigns or their ministers of those times. Prebends, Deanries, &c. which did not carry with them cure of souls, were fre-

* Strype's Memorials, III. p. 108.

† Ibid. p. 199.

quently

quently granted to lay-men, on which subject it is unnecessary to give instances. Such grants were not only made on actual vacancies; but even were rendered reversionary, as we have observed was the case with the Dukedom intended by King Henry VIII. for Edward Seymour, then Earl of Hertford, afterwards our unfortunate Duke of Somerset. Of all transactions of this sort, there is one upon report, which shews the innate meanness of the mind of Queen Elizabeth, so much extolled for her greatness of soul. The portion of this princess, by her father's will, was ten thousand pounds, a sum not contemptible at that time, however unproportionable it would sound at present. "I have heard," says my author Dr. Fuller, "that Queen Elizabeth, being informed that Dr. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, had given ten thousand pound in marriage with his daughter, and being offended that a prelate's daughter should equal a princess in portion, took away one thousand pound a year from that Bishoprick, and assigned for the better maintenance of the garrison of Berwick *."

The lands of the Bishops were strangely sported with in those times; witness the case of Bush Bishop of Bristol *versus* Sir George Norton, in Strype's Memorials, vol. II. p. 299.

The Episcopal House of the Bishop of Landaff.

Stowe says, there was, on the site of Somerset-House, an Inn belonging to the Bishop of Landaff: "for," continues he, "I find on record in the 4th of Edward II. that a vacant

* Church History, book V. p. 253. Compare with book IX. p. 109.

“ place, lying near the church of *Our Lady at Strand*, the
 “ said Bishop (of Landaff) procured of Thomas Earl of Lan-
 “ caster, for the enlarging of this house *.” As this grant
 relates merely to the extension of the episcopal building, the
 Bishop of the time, in all probability, contributed amply to the
 ground on which the house before us was long afterwards erected.
 The revenues of the Bishoprick of Landaff were very consi-
 derable in the reign of Edward II. and would well warrant the
 prelate to enlarge his hotel, or inn, as opportunity offered to
 procure land for that purpose. We are now, however, to
 look to the transactions of the Bishop at the time when Lan-
 daff House was given up to the Duke of Somerset, an event
 which has ever since deprived the Bishops of that see of an
 episcopal habitation in the metropolis. The revenues, houses,
 and dependencies of this Bishoprick had unaccountably been
 impaired from time to time, which Bishop Godwin, who sat
 there from 1601 to 1618, and of which time he speaks per-
 sonally in the Latin edition of his work, “ *De Præsulibus*,”
 complains very feelingly, when he says, that there was no
 prelatial house left, except a manerial mansion on an estate
 at Mathern: “ *ubi ædes hodie episcopales, atque unicæ illæ*
 “ *quidem (neque enim alias habet relictas) sitæ sunt †.*”

This pathetic lamentation of the Bishop leads us naturally
 to farther enquiry; and to investigate the character of the
 Bishop who sat in the chair of Landaff when the episcopal
 house of this see was absorbed in the great mansion of Somer-

* Survey of London, II. p. 105. This Earl of Lancaster must have been
 Thomas Plantagenet, who was beheaded at Pontefract, in the reign of Edward II.
 1322.

† *De Præsulibus*, p. 593; Dr. Richardson's edition.

set House. The prelate of the moment was Anthony Kitchin (alias Dunstan), of whom Bishop Godwin speaks as being the great depredator of the revenues of his church. He styles him "Fundi nostri calamitas;" and accuses him of very base proceedings, with respect to the episcopal estates, by unwarrantable sales and leases: "Prædia, siquidem, Episcopalia omnia (paucifimis exceptis) divendidit, et reliqua ad longissimum tempus elocavit, pensiunculis perquam exiguis reservatis*." Such words induce us to imagine that Bishop Kitchin would not hesitate to accept a sum of money, to gratify the Crown, or the Protector, with a part of the patrimony of his see; for, on a review of his general character, he is found to have been of so complying a disposition, as to have accommodated himself to every different temper of the times in which he lived, viz. from the close of the reign of Henry VIII. to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having been consecrated A. D. 1545, and dying Oct. 31, 1563 †. It is true, that, in a later edition of Bishop Godwin's work, in English, A. D. 1615, 4to. his Lordship, on better information, has softened some charges against Bishop Kitchin, by saying, that he had found reason to think that many deeds which alienated estates, &c. from the see of Landaff, were palpable, though irremediable forgeries ‡. Candour obliges us to mention this circumstance, though it is as certain that the divestment of the episcopal house in question could make no part of such forgeries, it having been

* De Præfulibus, p 593; Dr. Richardson's edition.

† Bishop Godwin, ut supra, p. 612.

‡ Dr. Richardson, the editor of Bishop Godwin's work in folio, 1743, seems not to have adverted to the English edition of 1615, wherein the charge against Bishop Kitchin is a little softened.

the prelate's own act; and we may, without much impeachment of our charity, venture to infer that Bishop Kitchen yielded to the Duke of Somerset's solicitations on motives not of the most honourable nature to the Bishop; neither were they, by this statement, much to the honour of the Protector; though the argument may hold good which only goes to prove, as far as may be, that Landaff House was not relinquished without a valuable consideration, leaving the Duke in the habit of ministerial influence, and the Bishop under the charge of shameful and sacrilegious speculation.

Among the depredations which have been made from time to time on prelatical revenues, those on the Bishoprick of Landaff seem to have been singularly severe; as, from having been one of the most opulent Sees, it had long been the humblest in point of emolument. Even in Bishop Godwin's time there were, by his own account, several parochial benefices which were more profitable to the incumbents respectively than the See was to the Bishop; to which his Lordship adds, that if his Bishoprick had then enjoyed but a tenth part of what had been bestowed upon it *in toto*, it would have been one of the wealthiest churches in Christendom; "whereas," continues he, "it hath hardly sufficient to repair itself*." Well, therefore, might Bishop Babington, who was consecrated A. D. 1591, jocularly say, He was only Bishop of *Aff*, for that the *Land* had been severed from it †.

* Godwin, De Præfulis.

† Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ, London, 1770, vol. I. 12mo. pp. 150 and 192.

The Episcopal House of the Bishop of Worcester.

I do not discover what was the extent of this edifice, and therefore cannot ascertain how much ground it contributed to the area of Somerset-House; but it is acknowledged by all writers, that the Bishop of Worcester had a compensation by the grant of a house in the White-Friars in lieu of his house in the Strand. Those who incline to account for transactions of this kind on uncharitable motives will tell you, one from another, that this partiality arose from a circumstance that Dr. Hooper, then Bishop of Worcester, had once been chaplain to the Duke of Somerset. Thus, at least, the story is told by Stowe in Mr. Strype's edition, and by Sir Henry Spelman, both of them traditional writers*: but all that can moderately be inferred from this amounts to no more than that, unlike the Bishops of Lichfield and of Landaff, the Bishop of Worcester (Hooper) was too honest a man to divest his see of any thing without a visible and specific compensation.

With regard to the *Strand-Inn* of Chancery, I am not competent to say there was any recompence, unless it consisted in any privileges or exemptions obtained for the Mother-Inn of Court, the Middle Temple. None appears to me at present.

As to the *Strand-Bridge*, it was part of the King's Highway; and when the lane over which it passed was absorbed, it became needless.

* See Strype's Edition of Stowe, II. 105; and Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ.

The Church called St. Mary le Strand.

Seymour, in his History of London *, says, that the site of this church was what afterwards became a part of the garden of Somerset House. He adds, that when the Protector pulled down the old Church he made a promise to the parishioners of building a new one, but did not live to fulfil that engagement. The parishioners, therefore, were driven to the nearest adjoining church, which was that belonging to the Savoy (described in the "New View of London"); between the inhabitants of which precinct and the master of the Savoy, as the Chaplain was then called, with the inhabitants of St. Mary le Strand, many disputes arose, mentioned by Seymour, not to our present purpose. The latter, however, continued to make a part of the congregation at the Savoy Church till the present edifice of St. Mary le Strand (better known by the name of the New Church) was built in the reign of Queen Anne.

The last obstruction to be demolished was,

The Strand-Bridge, for the sake of obtaining the Lanes under it.

What is now a street, called *The Strand*, was at that time no more than a high-way, leading from London Westward to the village of Charing, where stood Queen Eleanor's Cross, and a few houses; from whence, in a right line, you was led on, through open fields, to St. James's House, lately an hospital, but then a Royal House. This high-way, being

* In 2 vols. Folio, 1735, vol. II. p. 682.

† Idem, p 678.

the

the property of the Crown, as such was easily modified to accommodate the King's Uncle, and consequently there was little difficulty or hardship upon the subject in the change it underwent by levelling; and on the whole, perhaps, the road was rendered better by the change. By Stowe's account there was not any current of water under this bridge; for, says he, in the autograph remaining in the British Museum, "Then had ye, in the high street, a fair bridge, called Strand-Bridge, and under it a lane, which went down to the Strand, so from being a banque of the river of Thames*."

But here Stowe speaks of it as if it were in his own time, and not with reference to the reign of King Edward VI. or to any prior period.

Mr. Maitland, on the other hand, tells us, that there was a rivulet under the bridge; for, says he, "a little to the East of the present Catharine Street, and in the High Street, was a handsome bridge, denominated, from its situation, *Strand-Bridge*, through which ran a small watercourse from the fields, which, gliding along a lane below, had its influx to the Thames near Somerset-Stairs†." In this account I should incline to believe Mr. Maitland; because lanes do not often become rivers, though the beds of rivers, by a diversion of their courses, may become lanes.

Such depredations, abstractedly taken, betray at the first view violent exertions of the Protector's power; and writers have not scrupled to suggest, in general terms, that they were effected without any recompence to the proprietors‡. In

* Bibl. Harl. N° 538. † History of London, Edit. 1739, p. 739.

‡ Stowe's Survey of London. Sir Henry Spelman. Sir John Hayward.

such asseveration, probably, one has followed another. This circumstance must, therefore, lead us to bestow a few words on each of these dilapidated buildings, and candidly to urge what may be adduced in favour of the Duke, in extenuation of such seemingly atrocious and sacrilegious violations of national and religious tenures. The charge as to demolitions, simply considered, will be found to admit of much diminution, and, in many, of entire exculpation; for it can scarcely be supposed that the Duke, who professedly courted popularity, could so palpably infringe the rights of mankind, as to overthrow such buildings as have been, or will be mentioned, without legal authority on the one hand, or a compensation made at the time, or a promise of it in future. It may be very difficult to exhibit every proof, without access to the archives of such parts of the property as relate to public men or public bodies; therefore I can only lay before you such evidence in his Grace's favour as my investigation will afford, leaving the rest to better information.

If the dates above given are to be relied upon, which tell us that the demolitions were begun in the year 1549, the Duke's life was thereafter so short, as to warrant us to question whether his Grace ever inhabited it in its advanced state; or, if he did, we have authority to say, he did not live to see it completed according to the fullness and extent of his plan. The doubts will arise when we consider the matter technically and chronologically. The commencement of the year is to be dated from the 25th of March; after which, if we comprize the whole ensuing year in the calculation, and include the time necessary for pulling down the old buildings, clearing the ground,

ground, and digging foundations, it is scarcely credible that a structure of so great extent could have been finished in so short a space as barely three years which intervened between that date and the Duke's death, which took place on the 22d of January, 1552.

Thus much for those buildings which occupied the ground proposed for the reception of Somerset-House, its offices, and pleasure-gardens. After these demolitions there remained, according to a scale given in a print of Mr. Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London and Westminster, an area of upwards of 600 feet, East and West, by 500 feet, North and South, reckoning from the street to the bank of the Thames.

Writers who speak cursorily of the erection of Somerset House, and its situation, do not, in general, comprehend the articles of dilapidations, more than those structures found upon the spot, of which we have been speaking. It will be necessary, however, to carry our investigations to an almost equal number of distant edifices which shared the same fate. The ground was competent, the plan was formed ; but there was a deficiency of proper materials. The common mode of building at the time was with wood, or with a mixture of wood and rubbish called rubble. Bricks were not in general use ; while the houses of the greater nobility were of stone, which last, not being the produce of the vicinities of the metropolis, were necessarily fetched from a great distance by sea with much expence and delay. Pulling down one edifice of stone towards the erection of another was therefore the obvious and most expeditious way of procuring materials ; and the moment favoured the Duke's occasions.

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The following catalogue of religious public buildings, in addition to what have been mentioned, is given us by Sir John Hayward, in his History of the Life and Reign of King Edward VI. and is likewise to be found in Stowe and Weever ; viz.

1. The steeple and part of the church of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem.
2. The chapel in Pardon church-yard, belonging to St. Paul's church.
3. The cloyster surrounding the said chapel.
4. A chapel at the North door of St. Paul's.
5. The charnel house of St. Paul's, and a chapel over it.

To these Sir John Hayward subjoins, that, as they were not fully competent, it was the Duke's intention to have proceeded to the demolition of the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, for a farther supply of materials.

Of each of these edifices it may not be improper to add a few words, and to particularize what may be learned of their respective foundations, from such documents as have been preserved ; and candidly to add any thing which may tend to the Duke's exculpation.

1. *The steeple and part of the church of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem.*

This building being at the time in the absolute possession of King Edward, in consequence of the suppression of the larger Religious Houses in the 32d year of King Henry VIII. his Majesty had an ample right to bestow it upon the duke of Somerset, without violence to any other person. The whole of the edifices belonging to this priory were left unspoiled by the

the late King, having been reserved as store-houses for toyles employed in hunting, for tents, and implements of war, &c. after which King Edward, in his third year, gave permission to his uncle to destroy the body of the church, one of the side ailes, and the great bell tower, for the purpose before us. Doubting the Duke's authority, therefore, in this case, is demurring to the King's right to the priory.

The steeple, or bell tower, is described by Stowe, from his own personal remembrance, as having been ornamented in a very uncommon manner, the workmanship of which, he tells us, was engraved, gilt, and even enameled, about the year 1504, by Thomas Dockwra, then prior, and surpassed in beauty all others which he had ever seen*. On entering upon the demolition of this edifice the cement was found to be so very strong as to resist the labour of men, infomuch that explosions of gun-powder became necessary to separate the stones. Had the same difficulties occurred in more superstitious ages, before the invention of gun-powder, they would have been imputed to the divine opposition; the building had not only been saved, but honoured with more than common sanctimonious reverence; and the founder at least, if not prior Dockwra, would have been canonized. If any thing more is necessary to be said on this structure, it is only to lament that so fine a building as the steeple had become, by the well-meant zeal of the prior, was not saved, as it would have graced a Protestant place of worship †.

* Stowe's Survey, B. IV. p. 63.

† Of gilding steeples, see Lady Craven's Letters.

*The chapel in Pardon church-yard, belonging to
St. Paul's church.*

Weever tells us, that, “in the midst of Pardon church-
“ yard was a fair chapel, first founded by Gilbert Becket,
“ [who was the father of Thomas Becket the Martyr, Arch-
“ bishop of Canterbury,] Portgrave and principal Magistrate
“ (as now the Lord Mayor is) of this city, who was therein
“ buried, in the reign of King Stephen. Thomas More,
“ Dean of St. Paul's, re-edified this chapel.” So far Weever.

Sir William Dugdale carries the business a little farther,
and says, that dean More obtained from King Henry V. “ li-
“ cense to found a chantry of three priests therein; but, de-
“ parting this world before he accomplished it, his executors,
“ by virtue of Henry the Sixth's license, perfected the work,
“ appointing that the said chantry priest should celebrate di-
“ vine service daily therein for the good estate of King Henry
“ VI. and themselves, during their lives, and afterwards for
“ the health of their souls; for the soul of Thomas More, and
“ several others; the names of all which persons were to be
“ placed in a tablet over the altar, to be remembered in their
“ masses and prayers; and to keep the obiit of the said Tho-
“ mas More for ever.” Dr. Thomas More, we learn, was
made dean A. D. 1406, and died A. D. 1421 *.

To the above three chantry priests a fourth was added in
the same reign of Henry VI; for Sir William Dugdale sub-
joins that, “ in the eighth year of that King, Walter Cakton
“ citizen of London, by his last will, gave certain lands and

* Wharton, de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus.

“ tene-

“ tenements for to find one other chaplain to celebrate perpetually in the same chapel for the souls aforefaid, as also for his own soul.” Again, from the same writer, we learn, that in the 21st year of King Henry VI. “ Helen Stile, widow [of a] citizen of London, by her testament, gave other lands for the maintenance of an obiit to be annually kept in the said chapel for the soul of John Stile her husband, as also for her own soul, and all Christian souls for ever.” There might have been many other similar foundations not preserved: these are sufficient for our purpose, as to the history of this chapel, the demolition of which is recorded by Stowe, who says, that on the 10th of April 1549, the said chapel, “ by commandment of Edward duke of Somerset Lord Protector, was begun to be pulled down, with the whole cloyster, the tombs and monuments; so that nothing of them was left but the bare plot of ground, which is since converted into a garden for the Petty Canons.”

It is probable that the Chantry Priests of the several chapels at the time were chosen from the body of Petty Canons; and that these chaplainships operated as little exhibitions in aid of their emoluments from the great church of St. Paul. This garden, if it is not involved in the area of the present church, for which a compensation is allowed to the Minor Canons as they are now called, from the general revenues of the cathedral, is probably built upon, and rendered more advantageous to that branch of the ecclesiastical establishment. It may be mentioned, by the way, that their number, thitherto indefinitely small, and too much so for the performance of their various offices, was advanced to *twelve*, the present com-

complement, in the eighth year of King Richard II. who collegiated them, when they were dieted in one common hall, that, instead of being dispersed, as they had been, they might be always at hand to perform their functions. He also appointed a Warden, as their superior; and gave to the Warden and Fellows of this college certain lands in London for their further endowment*.

Thus much, my Lord, for the chapel itself, and the area which it covered. Our next consideration is directed to the cloyster.

3. *The cloyster, surrounding the chapel in Pardon church-yard.*

“On the North side of this church [St. Paul’s],” says Weever, “was some time a great Cloyster, environing a plot of ground called Pardon church-yard, whereof Thomas More, dean of St. Paul’s, was either the first builder, or an especial benefactor, and was therein buried. In this cloister also were buried many persons, some of worship and some of honour; the monuments of whom (saith Stowe, in his History of London) in number and curious workmanship passed all other that were in the great church. About the cloyster,” continues Weever, “was artificially and richly painted *The Dance of Death*, commonly called *The Dance of Paul’s*, the picture of Death leading all estates †.”

Sir William Dugdale, in his History of St. Paul’s, tells us that “over the East quadrant of the before-mentioned cloyster was a fair library, built at the costs of Walter Shiring-

* See Biog. Diët. † Weever’s Funeral Monuments, p. 373.

“ton,

“ ton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster in Henry the
“ Sixth’s time; but in the year 1549, April 10, both chapel,
“ cloister, and monuments, excepting only that side where
“ the library was, were pulled down to the ground by ap-
“ pointment of Edward duke of Somerset, and the materials
“ carried into the Strand, towards the building of that stately
“ fabrick called Somerset House, which he then erected.”

More of this library we are not told; nor whether it contained books to any amount, either in number or value. From the time of its erection, it is not improbable that Humphrey duke of Gloucester, a literary prince of the time when it was built, might have been a contributor to the foundation, or a benefactor to the collection *. It was probably consumed by the fire which destroyed St. Paul’s Church, A. D. 1666. We may here, however, observe that the duke of Somerset did not exceed his power, or perhaps exert it to the extent; for he possibly might have been authorized to take down the building, had he preserved the books.

Having now nothing left but the bare area of Pardon church-yard, which, after the chapel and cloyster were demolished, was, as we have heard, converted into a garden, it will not be from our purpose to add a word or two on the nature and use of that kind of cemetery; as it was not peculiar to the church of St. Paul, but probably might have been found in many large monastic foundations in popular cities. We accordingly learn, from Stowe, that there existed at the same time a like religious depository, and under the identical appellation, as a branch of the priory of St. John of Jeru-

* He gave but 129 volumes to Oxford. Walpole’s *Anecdotes*, vol. I. p. 56.

sale, or rather the Carthusian Friars, near Smithfield. It contained three acres of ground; and, having been first given for a burial place in general for those who died of the plague, diseased persons, and strangers, became afterwards to be appropriated to suicides and convicts, under the name of Pardon church-yard. Stowe particularizes this burial ground, and personally remembered the use to which it was applied in the early part of his time; for he lived to see the decay of Papistry, and the maturity of Protestantism. He tells us that "it served for the burying of such as desperately ended their lives, or were executed for felonies:" he then adds that the bodies of persons so dying "were fetched thither in a close cart, veiled over, and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarting, and at the fore end a St. John's cross without and within, a bell ringing by the shaking of the cart, whereby the same might be heard when it passed; and this was called the The Friary Cart, which belonged to St. John's, and had the privilege of sanctuary*. Hence we may infer, that the burial ground belonging to St. Paul's Church, of the name of Pardon church-yard, was of the same nature, and appropriated for the reception of such whose lives came to the like unhappy conclusions, and whose bodies were interred with similar ceremonies.

This, however, is not all that we have to add when we revert to the spirit of the preceding times; for at this period some secrets of the grave were laid open, thitherto practised by the Romanists, and not suspected by the Protestants. It seems to have been a matter of profane concern in that age to

* Survey, book IV. p. 62. edit. Strype.

the mother church that the souls of the unhappy wretches above mentioned should perish, or even linger in an uncertain state, for want of that which she impiously presumed it was in her power to bestow for a trifling pecuniary consideration; and therefore we are the less to wonder at what appeared upon the removal of the bodies of criminals buried in this church yard.

Pardons for offences of the deepest dye, as well as indulgences for the commission of those of a lighter shade, were known to have been part of the traffick carried on by the Pope at a market price; though it was not understood by the Protestants, till after the demolition of the chantries and depopulation of church-yards, that pardons were more than a verbal and momentary consolation*. It then appeared, however, that written pardons, drawn up in form by ecclesiastical scriveners and notaries, were actually buried with those who paid (or whose friends paid) competently for them; while the purchasers were delusively persuaded of their efficacy, and that they would operate beyond the grave! Such was the fact supported by the testimony of personal evidence; for Mr. Strype cites Dr. Walter Haddon, an eye-witness to some of these dis-interments, who says that, "among a great number of rotten carcases, were found caskets full of Pardons, safely folded and lapt together, at the bottom of their graves†." Dr. Haddon's authority is so respectable as not to admit of a doubt; neither could he have hazarded a bare assertion of this kind at a time when he was engaged

* Strype's Memorials, II. p. 181.

† For Indulgences, see Mortimer's Dictionary. Qu. as to Pardons?

in a controversy with Oſorio biſhop of Silva in Portugal, in ſupport of the Proteſtant Religion, the profeſſors of which were, till then, ignorant that the credulity of the people and the arrogance of the church of Rome were carried to ſo great extent. Hence, I am afraid, when Pope Leo X. exultingly, though perhaps unguardedly, conſoled himſelf with the wealth which *The legendary Tale of Jeſus Chriſt* *, as he termed it, had brought to the caſtle of St. Angello, that he ſpoke the ſentiments of every occupier of the Papal Chair :

“ *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum !*”

4. *A Chapel at the North Door of St. Paul's.*

Little is ſaid of this chantry, but that it was founded, according to Weever's account, by “ Walter Sherrington, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, by liſenſe of king Henry VI. for two, three, or four chaplains, and endowed with “ *forty pound* by the year. It was pulled down in the reign “ of Edward VI. at the commandment of the Protector ; and “ in place thereof, an houſe was builded.

5. *The Charnel-houſe of St. Paul's.*

On this head Weever tells us, “ There was, on the North ſide “ of Paul's church-yard, a large charnel-houſe for the bones “ of the dead, and over it a chapel founded upon this occaſion as followeth : In the year 1282, the tenth of Edward I. “ it was agreed, that Henry Walleis, mayor, and the citizens, “ for the cauſe of ſhops by them builded without the wall of

* His expreſſion was, “ *Quantas nobis divitias comparavit iſta fabula Chriſti.*”
See Rycaut.

“ the church-yard, should assign to God and to the church of
 “ St. Paul, *ten marks* of rent by the year, for ever, towards
 “ the new building of a chapel of the Blessed Virgine Mary ;
 “ and also to assigne *five marks* of yearly rent to a chaplaine
 “ to celebrate there.” “ And in the year 1430, the 8th of
 “ Henry VI.” continues Weever, “ license was granted to
 “ Jenkin Carpenter, town clerk of London (executor of
 “ Richard Whittington) to establish, upon the said charnell,
 “ a chaplain to have eight marke by the year. There was
 “ also in this chapel two Brotherhoods *.”

“ In the front of this chapel,” he adds, “ were interred sir
 “ Henry Barton, knight, lord mayor of London A. D.
 “ 1527, Robert Barton, and sir Thomas Murfin, Lord Mayor
 “ A. D. 1518 ; over whom were their portraitures, of ala-
 “ baster, grated and coped about with iron ; all which, with
 “ many other tombs and monuments of the dead, were pulled
 “ down, together with the said chapel, by commandment
 “ likewise of the forenamed duke of Somerset.” Weever
 adds, that the ground which the charnel-house and chapel
 occupied was covered “ with dwelling houses, warehouses,
 “ and sheds before them for stationers and shop-keepers in
 “ place of the tombs.”

There are other circumstances relating to this last-mentioned
 edifice which will be reverted to hereafter ; but it may be
 proper first to consider what has been suggested concerning
 the intended demolition of St. Margaret's church in West-
 minster. What we have already mentioned to have been
 done towards the erection of Somerset House actually took

* Tanner, Not. Mon. fol. p. 739. 1631.

place: and yet, after every calculation had been made, as to the necessary quantity of stone and timber for the completion of the plan, there was no small deficiency; which was to have been supplied by further dilapidations. For this purpose we are told expressly by sir John Hayward, "that it was constantly affirmed that he [the Duke] intended to pull down the church of St. Margaret in Westminster, and that the standing thereof was only preserved by his fall*." Stowe, it must be confessed, hints at this his Grace's design, where he says, that the church in question was once *in danger of being pulled down*, and the marginal note refers to the reign of King Edward VI. Stowe's† is better evidence, as far as it goes, though it is not so pointedly aimed at the Duke. Sir John Hayward must be heard with grains of allowance: he was inimical to his Grace's character, and inveighs against it on every occasion. Much abatement may be made in the Duke's favour upon dispassionate consideration. St. Margaret's church was originally a chapel, or chantry, within the walls of the Abbey, from whence, for convenient and good reasons it was transferred into the church yard: but its fundamental nature was not changed by such removal, as it still remained within the precincts of the Abbey, as a chapel, by transplantation, without the walls, and as such seems to have been included in the act of parliament, then lately passed, for the demolition of edifices under that description. This, no doubt, the Duke well knew, before he declared his intention of taking it down; and it most probably owed its

* Life and Reign of Edward VI. p. 205. 2d edit. 206. 12mo.

† Survey, edit. 1603. p. 466. 4to

preservation to its having become an useful and well-frequented Protestant church, which, at the moment, might render its dissolution unsafe and inexpedient. This circumstance seems to be confirmed by the event; and, as to the church itself, it holds at this day no better ecclesiastical rank than that of a curacy, or peculiar; the Abbey of Westminster being the mother church, and the Dean and Chapter both Rector and Vicar.

Some writers have gone so far as to affirm, that the Duke meditated even the sacrificing the Abbey itself, to obtain further materials for his purposes; but a very slight attention to the history of that structure will remove this bold surmise. As an Abbey consisting of an Abbot and twenty-four monks, it was, no doubt, within the intention of the statute of Dissolution of Henry VIII. A. D. 1539-40. Its revenues were very large, amounting to between three or four thousand pounds clear yearly value, and it was surrendered accordingly: but the King had the moderation not to destroy the building, or appropriate the lands; reserving them entirely for pious uses. Out of the former monastic foundation arose a Cathedral, under a Bishop, a Dean, and twelve Prebendaries, to be paid out of the old revenues, with additions from other dissolved religious houses, insomuch that the church establishment was enlarged, rather than diminished; [the King at the same time charging it with the payment of certain stipends to Professors and Students at both Universities. This foundation was perhaps one of very few whose estates were confined to a re-establishment of a similar nature, and which did not wander into the hands of the grasping nobility of the time.] This episcopal establishment, it is true, lasted but a
very

very short time ; for Thirlbye, the only bishop who ever sat there, surrendered his bishoprick March 29, 1550, and a second suppression took place, the diocese being re-united to London : but the church remained, by a special act of parliament, a Cathedral, with its Dean and Prebendaries, within that diocese ; but it was not collegiate in its present form till the reign of queen Elizabeth. This is enough for our purpose. If any such purpose was meditated on the part of the duke of Somerset, it must have been in the interval between March 1550, and the Duke's death, in January 1552-3.

Such was the state of the Abbey at the accession of King Edward VI. who had no power over it under the act of dissolution. Can it be believed, then, that the duke of Somerset, a warm Protestant, even with all his interest with his nephew, would dare at any time to urge the King to demolish a Cathedral with a full establishment of ecclesiasticks, to aggrandize his own palace : Such a design alone, even in embryo, would have cost him his head.

Sir John Hayward has told us, that the Duke's death acquitted him of the actual demolition of St. Margaret's church ; and as to the other five religious foundations, we shall have no difficulty in clearing his Grace from any imputation, as far as it merely affects the edifices themselves. With regard to these, I beg leave to refer to the Act of Parliament of the first year of king Edward (chapter XIV.) which passed when the Duke's house was hardly in embryo, by which all chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, or guilds, which were not in the actual and real possession of the late king Henry VIII. as also all lands, tenements, &c. formerly granted for the maintenance of any anniversary, or *obit*, were
given,

given, *pleno jure*, to king Edward. The design of this supplemental measure, taken in consequence of the general dissolution of Monasteries and Priories, was the suppression of Papal superstition, and the foundation of schools, as well as the augmentation of seminaries of learning in the Protestant persuasion. Such buildings, therefore, of this description as were taken down in aid of the Duke's intentions, must, I conceive, necessarily have been of the King's free gift; and more apparently so, as they are not registered in king Edward's Book of Sales of the Chantries, &c. printed at the end of the second volume of Strype's Memorials. In this class may be included, more especially, all those petty religious establishments in the environs of St. Paul's church; *viz.* the cloyster and chapel in Pardon church-yard; the chapel at the North door; the charnel-house of St. Paul's; and all other buildings in a similar predicament throughout the kingdom, as well as the larger edifice belonging to the dissolved priory of St. John of Jerusalem.

Thus much relates to the buildings simply considered; but the Act goes further, and discharges the Duke from any oppression; by leaving the church unprovided for as, at the same time, it bestows a yearly recompence, by letters patent, during life, to every priest or other person so deprived, to be ascertained by commissioners appointed for the purpose, who were directed, by a subsequent Royal Proclamation, to give the commutation to the claimants, "in such sort and manner, and to the proportion, as they should be thereof right well contented*."

* This clause of the Proclamation may be seen more at large in Strype's Memorials, vol. II. p. 98.

There

There are also collateral reasons to induce us to believe that the Duke did not arrogate to himself these buildings, or even any other property civil or religious, without authority on one hand, or retribution on the other. In the year 1550 (November 9) his Grace, for instance, obtained the bishop of Bath's house (afterwards Arundell house) and a prebend in the church of Wells; but it was done by exchanges*. The Duke at that time indeed was out of power; but the King was warm in his interest, and could have used different measures to obtain them for his uncle had he thought proper.

Thus far I conceive that the Duke stands acquitted, as far as we can judge at present, from any crime in the article of mere dilapidations, and of injuries done to the *living*; but I must not be his advocate regarding the treatment which he suffered to be used towards the *dead*. This insult, which I confess cannot be done away, sharpened the malice of his enemies, and tending to lessen his popularity, thereby expedited his destruction. Let us observe the result. The bulk of the Protestant people did not probably much regard the property of individuals, or even the above mentioned small ecclesiastical establishments, and the episcopal houses; but when the Duke removed the bodies of their deceased friends and relations in an irreverent manner, and transferred them to unhallowed ground, religious zeal took the alarm, and the voice of the people, of which his Grace thought himself secure, rose in judgment against him. These were impious insults, which could not be repaired. Stowe, a living witness, has

* Strype's Memorials, vol. II. p. 282. Godwin's Lives, vol. I. p. 341. 8vo.
told

told us that the bones which were found in the charnel house
“ were conveyed from thence into Finsbury Field, amounting
“ to more than a thousand cart-loads, and there laid on a
“ moorish ground, which was in a short space afterwards
“ raised by foilage of the city upon them, to bear three
“ wind-mills.” More attention paid to the dead by removing their bones into consecrated grounds would, perhaps, have silenced these clamours ; but, unfortunately for the Duke, it was the interest of the earl of Warwick to foment the remains of superstition, not yet extinguished, and to second every voice that was raised in opposition to his Grace’s measures. Here was a latent mischief, which the Duke did not foresee ; and the modes which he took to procure materials for the erection of his intended building, laid in some measure the foundation of his own ruin ; for sir Richard Baker says, that, these last mentioned dilapidations, and the indecent manner of moving the dead, “ did something alienate
“ the people’s minds from him [the Duke], which the earl
“ of Warwick perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be
“ falling upon him*.”

Not to interrupt the narrative, I reserved to this period what may be said of the *Dance of Death*, before mentioned.

It was long the general opinion that this painting at Basil was executed, if not designed, by Holbein, till Mr. Walpole refuted it by an attention to chronology. Prior, in his Ode to the Memory of Colonel Villiers (though bound as a poet to nothing but received tradition), alludes to it as the work of

* Chronicle, p. 326. fol. 1665.

Holbein, where, speaking of the power of Death over us all, he says :

“ Nor aw’d by foresight, nor misled by chance,
 “ Imperious Death directs his ebon lance,
 “ Peoples great Henry’s tomb, and leads up Holbein’s Dance.” }

As to the present state of this painting *al fresco* at Basil (be it done by whom it might), we learn from Dr. Moore, in his “ View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany,” that “ the colours, having been long exposed to the air, are now quite faded, which I can scarcely think is much to be regretted ; for the plan of the piece is so wretched, that the finest execution could hardly prevent it from giving disgust.” Speaking of the scene where it is represented, he calls it “ The dismal Gallery, upon whose walls what is called *Holbein’s Death’s Dance* is represented *.”

The Dance of Death did not arise merely from the imagination of a painter. It was, as we are told by Mr. Warton, a sort of Spiritual Masquerade, and used to be represented by ecclesiasticks habited in person and character, before it was portrayed by the hands of a limner, and is alluded to so early as in *Pierce Plowman’s Visions*, written about the year 1350 †. It was afterwards painted on the walls of several churches, and other edifices, in different parts of the Continent, as in some publick building at Minden, in Westphalia, where it is known to have existed 1383, at Lubeck, in the portico of St. Mary’s church, 1463, at Dresden, at Annaberg, Leipzick, and some other places, at different pe-

* View, &c. vol. I. p. 357. seconde dit. 1779, 8vo.

† Mr. Warton’s History of English Poetry, vol. II. p. 54. in notes.

riods.

riods. The most celebrated of these paintings, which as such claimed any merit from the execution, was that at Basil, reputed to have been the work of Hans Holbein, a circumstance contended for by writers in general, against which Mr. Walpole and Mr. Vertue protest, on the ground of chronology, as the painting was done some years before Holbein was born*.

Mr. Warton says †, that the procession is mentioned, as to the time of year and the particular day of the solemnity in the *Quotidim Offices* of the church; printed at Paris, 1579. 8vo.

The immediate occasion of this representation at Basil, Mr. Walpole tells us, arose thus. The council that was held there began 1431, and sat for fifteen years, during which time a plague raged, which carried off people of all degrees; when on the cessation of it the work in question began to be painted on the walls of a cloyster as a memorial of that calamity ‡. It is allowed that Holbein was not born, at the earliest given period, till the year 1495 §.

Among other places wherein this painting was exhibited, was a cloyster belonging to the church of St. Innocents at Paris, of what date I do not learn; but with the addition of colloquial stanzas between Death and each party, written by a Physician of the name of Macaber (or Machabree) in German rhymes, afterwards translated into Latin and French, in which last language it was there to be seen in the fifteenth century, and thence transferred to us. Sir William Dugdale, who calls it "The Dance of Machabree," has given us the

* Mr. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. I. p. 123.

† Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. II. p. 54, in the notes.

‡ Mr. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, I. p. 112.

§ *Biographical Dictionary*.

English version at large at the end of his History of St. Paul's, together with the following account of such circumstances relating to it as had come to his knowledge. "It was executed," says he, "at the charge of Jenkyn Carpenter, a citizen of London in those days, in imitation of that in the cloyster adjoining to St. Innocent's church-yard in Paris, with English verses to explain the painting, translated out of the French by John Lydgate, a Monk of St. Edmondsbury, one of the famous old Poets."

This Dance of Death was engraved by Hollar, and may be seen in some editions of sir William Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, and in the Latin edition of his Monasticon, with Lydgate's version of the stanzas annexed. This engraving, Mr. Warton thinks, was copied by Hollar from a wood-cut prefixed to the same verses in Tottell's edition of Lydgate, 1554, and which he therefore supposes to be a faithful representation*. I incline, however, to believe that Lydgate rather metrifised than translated the stanzas from the French; for though he had travelled into various parts of the Continent, yet at the end of these very lines he tells us, by way of epilogue, that he understood no language except his vernacular tongue :

" Out of the French I drough it of entent,
 " Not word by word, but following in substance;
 " And from Paris to England it sent
 " Only of purpose you to do pleasance.
 " Have me excused; my name is John Lydgate,
 " Rude of language, I was not born in France :

* Notes on Spenser's Fairy Queen, II. 117.

“ Her curious metres in English to translate
 “ Of other tongues I have no suffisance *.”

Those who have laboured to establish the merits of the painter and the poet in the case of this *Dance of Death* at St. Paul's have not bestowed any thing more than the mere name of the person who occasioned it to be depicted on the walls of the cloyster or ambulatory at St. Paul's. One must be induced to suppose that Jenkyn Carpenter, who bore the whole charge of it, was not only a citizen, but a man of opulence, with other reasons to superinduce him to a work of so great an expence. It appears from Weever †, that in the eighth year of Henry VI. 1430, he was town-clerk of London, and one of the executors of sir Richard Whittington, who had been four times Lord Mayor, and who re-founded the church of St. Michael in the street now called the Tower Royal, and made it a college, for a master and four fellows, with the usual subordinate officers. The licence for this foundation was first granted by Henry IV. to sir Richard Whittington ; and the city of London consigned to him a vacant piece of ground for the purpose ; but he dying before it was finished, confirmations in the third and afterwards in the tenth year of Henry VI. were granted for its completion to Whittington's executors, of whom Carpenter was one ‡.

In a catalogue of the Town-Clerks of London, given in Mr. Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey, 1720, *John Carpenter*

* Lydgate is said to have travelled with several young gentlemen of fortune ; one of whom, possibly, was the son of Jenkyn Carpenter, whose age coincides with the time before us. See Carpenter, in the Index of Fuller's Worthies.

† Funeral Monuments, 1631. p. 379.

‡ Stowe's Survey of London, edit. Strype, book III. p. 3.

appears to have held the office from the fifth of Henry V. to the 17th of Henry VI. A. D. 1438. The mistake of the Christian name I impute to an initial or abbreviation of *Jenkyn* having been found in the City books from which Mr. Strype took his account, as it tallies chronologically with the person before us, who by all other writers is called *Jenkyn*. The same gentleman seems to be pointed at, under the name of *John*, in the Irish Peerage (Article *Tyrconnel*,) where it is said, that he sat in the parliament held at Cambridge, 15th of Henry VI. A. D. 1436-37, and that he was at the time town-clerk of London.

These circumstances seem to lead to the person who caused the painting before us, and shew that he was not inconsiderable, and probably wealthy: as to the inducements for exposing such a work, they are left open to conjecture. *Jenkyn* Carpenter seems to have been at the height of his consequence and riches at the time when the Dance of Death at Basil was painted; and as it was more celebrated, partly by the French poetry, as well as the picture itself, than the others, I would beg leave to differ from sir William Dugdale, and substitute Basil for St. Innocent's at Paris. Three circumstances concur in this idea, and are supported by chronology, as to the times when this painting was done at Basil, and while both *Jenkyn* Carpenter and John Lydgate were living, the last of whom died 1440. The then recent plague at Basil, during the sitting of a General Council, became more impressivè on the minds of men than it would perhaps have been at other times. The same calamity, with the addition of a famine, had prevailed in England in the year 1438*, which might induce the wealthy and pious *Jen-*

* Kapin.

kyn Carpenter to perpetuate the memory of it, and enforce the indiscriminate power of *Death* by a similar personification in the cloyster at St. Paul's; and the more so, if any of his friends or relations had been swept away by that double infliction. It was in the same year, 1438, that *Carpenter* quitted the post of town-clerk; but it is not said in Mr. Strype's list of them, that it was by death. He might be at a time of life when business became irksome, and, being rich in worldly concerns, he wished to become rich also in good works, as such public and pious undertakings were reputed to be in those times.

QUEEN MARY, (1553).

Very little can be said of this house in the reign of Queen Mary; for, though it had become the property of the Crown upon the Duke of Somerset's attainder, yet had King Edward given it to his sister the princess Elizabeth; and it was during this reign her independent residence when she came to visit the Court*. Thus, on the Queen's accession, Strype says, that "the lady Elizabeth came out of the country to be ready to congratulate her sister, and now her sovereign; riding through London, along Fleet-Street, and so to the Duke of Somerset's Place, which now belonged to her †." In the Progresses made by Elizabeth while Princess, I find it stiled "Her Place, called Somerset Place, beyond Strand Bridge ‡."

* See the Progresses, published by Mr. Nichols.

† Memorials, III. p. 14.

‡ Progresses, published by Mr. Nichols. The term *beyond* has reference to Hatfield; for the house was a little Westward of the bridge, as appears by a Plan of London, about 1558, given in the Progresses.

Her

Her Highness, during the life of Queen Mary, resided chiefly, under much restraint and observance, at Bishop's Hatfield, in Hertfordshire; so that she used this her town residence only occasionally; as when she went from Hatfield to wait upon the Queen, then at Richmond, A. D. 1554, she barely (as the sea phrase is) touched at Somerset House in going, and again returning; whence, after resting one night, she "took water in the Queen's barge, whither she returned in the evening, and went back the next day to Hatfield*." We find the princess again at "*Her Place*," as it is called, for a very few days (from November 28 to December 3.) in the year 1556†; and again, on the 25th of February, 1557 (according to the computation of that time, "The lady Elizabeth (says Mr. Strype) came riding from her house at Hatfield to London, attended with a great company of lords and nobles and gentlemen into *her place* called *Somerset Place*, beyond Strand Bridge, to do her duty to the Queen: and, on the 28th, she repaired unto her Grace at Whitehall, with many lords and ladies‡."

The little intercourse which subsisted between the Royal Sisters did not render Elizabeth's residence near the Court very agreeable to her on many accounts; and therefore it is not matter of surprize that she did not beautify, or even finish, Somerset House, which we shall find hereafter was left incomplete at a much later period. This Palace, for so we must henceforth call it. continued, however, to be the property of the princess Elizabeth, as the gift of her brother, du-

* Progresses, by Mr. Nichols.

† Idem. Strype's Memorials, vol. III. p. 309.

‡ Strype's Memorials, vol. III. p. 444.

ring the reign of queen Mary, after whose demise it merged again in the crown by Elizabeth's succession to the throne.

QUEEN ELIZABETH (1558).

Queen Mary died November 17, 1558; at which time the princess Elizabeth was, as usual, resident at her manor of Hatfield, which, as we have said, had been given to her by her brother king Edward, A. D. 1550*. The queen, as she must now be called, in passing to Westminster, reposed herself, among other places, at the Strand House, as Mr. Strype terms it, and continued there nearly three weeks†. Queen Elizabeth having two palaces more commodious for her establishment as a Sovereign, (Whitehall and St. James's), Somerset House still remained a secondary mansion for occasional purposes, and a momentary residence for the Queen herself. It operated very well for the reception of the great personages of a certain rank and description; and the Queen was not wanting in accommodating some of her own subjects, who were nearly allied to the royal family, with the use of it. It became subsequently a palace for Queens Consort, as also a jointure house for Queens Dowager, as will appear hereafter. Queen Elizabeth seems to have been sensibly hurt at the hard fate of her brother's maternal uncle the duke of Somerset, and paid an early attention to the revival of the faded honours of that family. The Queen's first act of benevolence was the creation of Edward Seymour, the Duke's eldest son by the Dowager Duchess, into the Earldom of Hertford, his father's second

* Nichols's Progresses, or Strype's Memorials.

† Annals, Introduction, p. 10. 1709. fol.

title, accompanied, no doubt, with more than usual grants of lands, or rents, according to the custom of the times, when every baronial honour carried with it a consideration for the better support of its dignity *. This creation took place even before her majesty's coronation ; and, among other liberalties to the earl of Hertford, it appears that Somerset House was appointed for the residence of his Lordship ; for in the statement of the Queen's progress, 1561, her Majesty rested for a moment at Somerset House, which, in the journal of that progress, is called "The seat of the Lord Protector's son, to whom " the Queen had restored it in her first year †." Possibly this indulgence might extend to the whole family of the Protector ; for the Duchess Dowager was living, as were several children of the Duke by her Grace, as well as others by his former Lady, all of whom were in no very competent circumstances.

The condition of the family at the Duke's death was truly calamitous. The Duchess had contrived to set aside all former settlements respecting the children of the first venter in favour of her own ; and the Duke's eldest son by the first marriage was reduced to the humble rank of John Seymour, Esquire ; while the Duchess's own eldest son became only Sir Edward Seymour, as he had the fortune to be knighted.

I am afraid it must be suspected that the Queen suffered herself to be led by the insinuations of this ambitious Duchess, otherwise her Majesty could not have overlooked the two sons of the duke of Somerset by a former venter. They, perhaps,

* Strype says, that Sir Edward Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset, was restored by queen Mary, 1553, by a private act of parliament, when he was knighted, *Memorials*.

† Progresses, published by Mr. Nichols.

had

had no advocate, while the Duchess was under the Queen's eye, and using all her influence in favour of her own son, to whom, with equal injustice, the primary honour of the dukedom had been limited, in the first instance, by the intrigues of this Lady, to the exclusion of the issue of his Grace by a former marriage. Nay it was worse than a want of limitation, or a bare exclusion from the honour; for this artful Lady had gained the ascendant over the Duke at her marriage so far as even to obtain an act of parliament, whereby the entail of all estates settled on his son John by the first marriage was cut off, and re-settled upon her own issue. The event, in point of property, was the same to these paternal brothers soon after the Duke's attainder; when titles and estates were all confiscated by act of parliament in the 4th year of king Edward, perhaps by the power of the duke of Northumberland, who might think, though the young Duke was but 13, yet that the Duchess was aspiring, and that "though he had scotched the snake he had not killed it;" but when the eldest son by the second marriage was afterwards created Earl of Hertford by queen Elizabeth, the son of the first marriage had the mortification to find himself of no higher rank than John Seymour, Esquire.

She was the proudest woman of that reign, and, as every body knows, contended for precedence with queen Catharine Parr, the dowager of Henry VIII. because her Majesty had married the lord admiral Seymour, who was the duke of Somerset's younger brother*. After this, would it be easily

* Dr. Fuller, in his usual quaint way, says, "that the train of the Queen, and the long gown of the Duchess, raised a dust which put out the eyes of both their husbands." Worthies, Wiltshire.

believed that this very Lady so far degraded her own dignity, the memory of the Duke, and Protector of the Realm, and the honour of her son the Earl of Hertford, as to condescend to become the wife of a servant of her former husband? This gentleman was the very identical Francis Newdigate above mentioned as the Duke's steward. He was a collateral ancestor of the present Baronet of that name. This circumstance, except the name, seems to have been studiously concealed in most of the editions of the Peerages; but, in the Baronetages, it is expressed in abbreviated Latin, not intelligible to every reader, "Unus generosus. hostiarior." *i. e.* one of the gentlemen-ushers to the Duke*. Strype calls him steward; but he might possibly be a confidential servant, and officiate in both capacities. The Duchess died at the age of 90 years, A. D. 1587.

Although the Queen gave this house to the earl of Hertford, or more probably to the duchess dowager of Somerset, yet it was not a relinquishment of all right of the Crown, or without a reserve in part, or a re-call *in toto*. It remained as a supplemental house for the accommodation of visitors at the Queen's pleasure; for, in the second year of this reign, we find, that when the Duke of Holstein, nephew to Frederick II. king of Denmark, came hither to treat of a marriage between the Queen and his Uncle, he was lodged in *Somerset Place*†. Again, in the year 1572, Francis duke of Montmorency, marshal of France, visited England with the similar purpose of negotiating a marriage between the Queen and the duke of

* Kimber's Baronetage, Art. Newdigate.

† Strype's Annals, vol. I p. 195.

Alençon,

Alençon, the youngest brother of Charles the IXth. King of France*. The Marshal continued here nearly a month, where he was entertained at the Queen's expence, had an escort of thirty of the Queen's yeomen of the guard to attend him, and was lodged in *Somerset Place*†.

The Count Palatine of the Rhine, an ally of the Queen, came over hither upon political business, and was honourably received. His stay was from the 22d of January to the 14th of February; when, excepting a few days on his arrival, in which he was entertained by sir Thomas Gresham in Bishopgate Street, he was lodged in *Somerset House*‡.

Again, the Queen herself is found here for a moment in person, in the year 1588, when she went in state to St. Paul's Church, to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish Armada. If the procession did not begin from hence, it at least terminated here; for my authority says, that the Queen "returned in the same order by torch light to *Somerset House* §."

The duchess of Somerset had died in the preceding year 1587; and we cannot well say whether this house at that time remained in the occupation of the earl of Hertford, or whether the Queen had resumed it on the death of his mother. I rather incline to the latter supposition, and the reason for such surmise originates from a combination of the following circumstances. The *Duchess* died, as has been mentioned, in the year 1587; whereas the earl of Hertford survived queen

* Sully's Memoirs.

† Nichols's Progresses, from the Lambeth MSS.

‡ Ibid. from Stowe's Chronicle.

§ Ibid. in the Preface, p. xxiii.

Elizabeth ;

Elizabeth; at the latter end of whose reign, in a few years after the *Duchess's* death, we find *Somerset House* occupied, through the Queen's favor, by lord *Hunsdon*. This I collect from a MS. of *Norden's Speculum Britanniae* (supposed to be an autograph), wherein is a passage, which is omitted in the edited copies of 1593, perhaps as a trivial circumstance immaterial to general history, and rejected on second thoughts. It coincides, however, with our present little purpose, and runs as follows; "Somerset Howse, scytuate in the Strand, nere the Thamise, buylded by the late duke of Somerset, not fully finished, yet a most stately house, and of great receyte; havinge chiefe prospecte towardes the Sowthe, and the sweete river of the Thamise, offereth manie pleasinge delightes. The right honorable lord Hunsdon, lorde chamberlayne to her Majestie, hath, under her Majestie, the use thereof*."

This indulgence to (Henry Carey) Lord Hunsdon is easily accounted for, as his Lordship was cousin german to her Majesty, his mother being (Mary) the sister of queen Anne Bulleyne. Queen Elizabeth advanced him to the barony of Hunsdon, in consequence of his consanguinity, bestowing on him Hunsdon house, with an estate of four thousand pounds *per annum*, according to the then valuation of lands, to which she added great posts, and the order of the Garter; so that his Lordship was well enabled to support a dignity consonant with the amplitude of the house he occupied, in which he died A. D. 1596 †.

* Harleian MSS. N° 570.

† Collins's Peerage, ed. 1735.

JAMES

J A M E S I.

In the reign of king James I. the house before us became, *ipso facto*, a royal residence on the part of the Queen, and even changed its name; and it appears that her Majesty repaired it, at her own charge, for the reception of her brother, Christian IV. king of Denmark, who visited England A. D. 1606. from which time it is said that the Queen affected to call it *Denmark-house*. Here at least her Majesty kept her court which was celebrated for its gaiety, whereof the King occasionally partook. Her courtiers often appeared in masquerade, not a little favourable to the intriguing spirit of the time, and the Queen herself does not seem to have escaped all censure*. The visit of the king of Denmark was very flattering to king James, who was glad of the company of a stranger, to whom he might display his wit and magnificence, which last was carried to so great an excess, that, on this occasion, added to another visit which immediately followed from the prince de Vaudemont, son of the duke of Lorrain, his Majesty consumed nearly the whole of a subsidy of four hundred fifty-three thousand pound lately granted by the parliament for the necessary and urgent demands of his household†. At this time the King maintained three distinct courts, at an incredible expence: his own, at Whitehall; the Queen's at Somerset-house; and prince Henry's, at St. James's, all upon large establishments‡. His Danish Majesty

* Whitlocke's Memorials. Arthur Wilson, p. 33.

† Rapin.

‡ Acta Regia, p. 511. folio.

liked his reception so well in the year 1606 that, unsolicited and unexpectedly, he repeated his visit A. D. 1614, when king James lavished away about fifty thousand pounds in excessive feasting, &c. which he had obtained from his subjects under the specious title of a benevolence*.

On both these occasions the two monarchs were guilty of great intemperance; the Dane being much addicted to drunkenness, to which James had not the least objection. To this, Christian added several indelicate traits of manners to the ladies about the court, and particularly in his indecent behaviour to the wife of the High-Admiral, the countess of Nottingham, who resented it in a very spirited manner to the Danish Ambassador, in a letter which is preserved in Dr. Harris's Life of king James†.

Such of these scenes as are on record lay for the most part at Theobald's, though the same writers who mention them leave sufficient insinuations to suspect that some of them were repeated at Somerset House.

Dr. Fuller tells us that, on the first visit of the king of Denmark, A. D. 1606, it was ordered by king James himself, that Somerset House should be thenceforth called *Denmark House* in honour of his brother-in-law; and goes so far as to add, that the name was confirmed by the King's proclamation‡. On the other hand, Arthur Wilson, though he seldom, if ever, gives this house any other title than *The Queen's Palace in the Strand*, says, under the year 1610, that her

* Rapin, who says the money granted was fifty-two thousand nine hundred pounds

† P. 67.

‡ Church History, book VII. p. 410.

Majesty affected to call her palace *Denmark House*, in compliment to her brother; but that this appellation obtained chiefly by courtesy among the Queen's domesticks and dependents*. As to the point of time, however, when this house changed its name, I rather chuse to rely on the continuators of Stowe's Survey of London, as historians professedly topographical; who, having told us, that the Queen of king James made this house her usual residence, add, that, "On Shrove Tuesday, 1616, she feasted the King here, at which time the King changed the name of this house, appointing it to be thenceforth called *Denmark House*†." This, then, seems to carry with it the most exact date of the confirmation of the new title given to Somerset House. It was a moment for the Queen to second her wishes; and her Majesty was sufficiently acquainted with the King's uxorious disposition to distinguish and improve the "*mollia tempora fandi*." If this privilege was any great indulgence to the Queen, she did not live long to enjoy it; for, on the next mention of it, we find that her Majesty expired at Hampton Court 1618, when her remains were conveyed to Denmark House previously to their interment in Westminster Abbey.

Before we quit this reign, it will be necessary to advert to another circumstance which we learn from Stowe's continuators, by whom we are told that, "This house was much repaired, beautified, and improved, by new buildings and enlargements, by this Queen, who also brought hither water from Hyde Park in pipes‡." To the same period

* History of King James, fol. p. 53.

† Stowe's Survey, Mr. Strype's edition, 1720.

‡ Ibid. book IV. p. 105.

we may therefore refer the erection of those apartments towards the river, which were built over a colonade, and those to the West of them, which are allowed to have been planned and executed from the designs, and under the eye, of Inigo Jones*.

As to the chapel, which I conceive to have been the work of the same master, I take it to have been posterior to the former additions, as will be observed in the order of time.

On the accession of king James, it may well be supposed, from what we have said, that this house was to be considered, (if not *ipso facto* settled) as a dotarial palace in case Anne of Denmark had survived the King, a circumstance which might induce the Queen thus to enlarge and embellish it. Although her design was not seemingly completed, yet it is probable, had she outlived the King, she might have been induced to have made the East end of the front to the river to correspond with the West end, leaving the principal state apartments in the centre between them.

From the end of this reign, however, it has always been reputed as peculiarly appropriated even to Queens Consort, and, as soon as occasion rendered it necessary, became a Jointure house, either by marriage treaties, or by act of parliament; and such it was intended contingently to have been when its fate was changed early in the present reign.

* See his Life in the Biographical Dictionary; and Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, &c. II. 170. 4to.

CHARLES

C H A R L E S I.

King James died at Thobalds, 1625 ; whence the royal corpse was removed to Denmark House, for so we must continue to call it, where it remained in state from the 23d of April till its interment on the 17th of May *. Writers, who speak of it in the reign of King Charles, use the two appellations of *Denmark House* and *Somerset House* promiscuously, as in the anonymous life of Queen Henrietta Maria †.

Dr. Fuller suggests, that the memory of the duke of Somerset prevailed so much traditionally at this time as to have soon banished the new name, and to have recalled the old one ‡; but, perhaps, if any reason is to be given, it might be imputed to the unpopular character of king James, who wanted every quality requisite to preserve any degree of respect longer than his personal authority existed. On the other hand, king Charles might entertain a predilection for the name of Denmark House, in honour of his mother ; and it is observable that archbishop Laud, no bad courtier, always styles it so when he mentions it in his Diary, which it seems to have retained till the death of the King, when the Parliament, from their hatred to the family of Stuart, might be unwilling to preserve any the smallest oblique trace of its existence.

The marriage of king Charles with Henrietta-Maria, a daughter of France, took place as soon as decency would

* Acta Regia, p. 547. fol. Anonymous Annals of king Charles, p. 108. fol.

† Published 1671, 18mo.

‡ Church History.

permit after the funeral of his father was solemnized, according to a treaty agreed upon in the life-time of king James. She was met at Dover by the King in person, and the nuptials were perfected at Canterbury; after which, on the arrival of their Majesties in London, the Queen was put into possession of Denmark House, which was fitted up for the reception of herself and her household, and, by grant, dated February 15, 1626, was settled on the Queen for her life*.

By the articles of marriage it was stipulated that the Queen should enjoy the free exercise of her religion to a great extent; and the establishment brought with it a little convent of Capuchin Friars, who were lodged as near her chapel as might be†. A list of her Majesty's household, in both the civil and ecclesiastical branches, having been preserved by the above-mentioned writer of her life, I have added it in an Appendix, as not improperly making a collateral part of this memoir.

I am very much inclined to impute the building of the chapel at Somerset House to the early part of the reign of queen Henrietta Maria. It is acknowledged to have been erected by Inigo Jones; and therefore must have been done either by command of queen Anne of Denmark, or of queen Henrietta; because this celebrated architect, after serving both king James and king Charles I. died during the Commonwealth, A. D. 1652. Anne of Denmark, being a Pro-

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. XVIII. The Queen also possessed the palace at Greenwich, rebuilt, as it now stands, by Inigo Jones, for her residence in the summer months, where she was found, with her court, on the King's return from Scotland, in July 1633. *Acta Regia*, p. 775. folio.

† Anonymous *Annals of King Charles*, p. 108. fol.

testant,

testant, had no occasion for a separate chapel of a different communion, and most probably frequented the King's Chapel at Whitehall, without the parade of a distinct place of worship, unless she had an oratory at Somerset-house for her private devotions at those times when she kept her Court there. It was not so with Henrietta, who was not only a bigot in herself, but had a deeper game to play.

The principal circumstance, however, on which I ground my surmise that the chapel was built by Henrietta Maria, and not by Anne of Denmark, arises from a passage in an account of the visit which Mary de Medicis, the Queen Dowager of France, made to her daughter Henrietta the Queen Consort of England in the year 1638. The author was *Monf. de la Serre*, historiographer of France, who attended in the suite of the queen Dowager, and wrote at the moment from personal knowledge. Speaking of Somerset House as a palace appropriated to the Queen of Great Britain for her peculiar residence, he mentions her having built there a magnificent chapel, and founded an establishment of Capuchin Friars, the expences of which she defrayed out of her Privy Purse *.

If Henrietta Maria found any chapel within the walls of Somerset House, it was probably much too small for her ecclesiastical establishment, that tended, as far as possible, to the revival of her own religion, which had nearly expired in England †.

* *Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reyne Mere du Roy tres-Chrétien dans la Grande Bretagne*, par la S^r de la Serre, Historiographe de la France, p. 54. A Londres, 1639; reprinted 1775, 4to. with notes, by Richard Gough, Esq.

† In the *Biographical Dictionary* it is said that Inigo Jones built queen Catharine's Chapel at St. James's. Q. If this be the Chapel in the Friars?

This

This new arrangement, under the toleration which she so extensively enjoyed, and with the hopes of making converts, would therefore claim her early attention. The effects of such open practice of the Romish Faith became afterwards very alarming, and rendered both the Queen and her Mother extremely obnoxious to the community, as many persons of quality, rank, and consequence, had actually been made proselytes at different times*.

The growing interests therefore of those who dissented from both Religions were not without their use in the hands of Providence; insomuch that, had not the eruptions of Puritanism appeared almost at the moment, the fever of Romanism might have returned upon us. A word or two more upon the chapel will be added hereafter, from the description left by writers who have professionally mentioned it as a piece of Architecture.

The Queen's Court seems to have been very different from that of the King; the former being kept at Denmark House, as we will call it, while the latter was kept at Whitehall. The royal apartments were open daily at particular hours to persons of certain rank and description, and, as far as we can at present judge, resembled our modern levees, and the late queen Caroline's drawing-rooms, which last were held in an evening. Henrietta, like her predecessor Anne of Denmark, sometimes no doubt entertained the King and his courtiers at this her palace; and we find that their Majesties both resided here, for a short time, in the year 1641, on the

* Instances of such conversions, during the Queen's first residence in England, when Queen-Consort, may be seen in Dr. Harris's *Life of King Charles*, p. 198, et seq. 1772, 2d edition.

arrival

arrival of the Prince of Orange (the father of king William III.), who had his first interview with the princess Mary at this house, previously to their marriage. The queen-mother of France, Mary de Medicis, being then in England, and lodged at St. James's, there was no royal house at liberty for the reception of the prince of Orange, who was therefore entertained by the earl of Lindsey at Arundel House *. Soon after this marriage was completed, the Prince returned to Holland, and was not long afterwards followed by the Princess, accompanied by the Queen, who took this opportunity prudently to withdraw from England, where it may be said she never resided again till after the Restoration. At this period the gates of Denmark House seem to have been closed till the return of king Charles II.; notwithstanding which, something occurred in the Inter-regnum necessary to be observed.

“ Several tenements in the Strand, parcel of the possession of Charles Stuart and Henrietta Maria, late King and Queen of England, belonging unto Somerset House,” were sold, by an act of Parliament, intituled, “An Act of the Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Sale of the Honours, Manors, and Lands, heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince, 1650. [for the payment of the Army.]”

The Three Bells, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Savoy, let on lease by king James, in the 4th year of his reign, 13 s. 4 d.

The Sugar Loaf, in the same parish, let as aforesaid, 20 s.

The Gun. Idem, 26 s. 8 d.

* Addenda to Leland's Collectanea, vol. V. p. 337. This Earl, 11 Charles I. was constituted Lord High Admiral of England; and killed at the battle of Edgehill, 1642. For Arundel House, see Anecdotes of the Howard Family.

The Prince's Arms. Idem. And Golden Lion, 26 s. 8 d.

The Three Pigeons. Idem, 26 s. 8 d.

The Feathers, adjoining to Somerset House, as also the White Horse. Idem, 26 s. 8 d.

The Golden Fleece. Idem, 26 s. 8 d.

The Pyed Bull; as also the Goat. Idem, 26 s. 8 d.

The Mitre Tavern, and the Red Lion [by lease from queen Elizabeth], 16 s. 8 d.

The Mortar and Pestle [let by king James on a lease], 20 s.

The Chequer. Idem. In Strand Lane, 4 d.

The Sugar Loaf. Idem, 26 s. 8 d.

The Golden Ball. [By lease from queen Elizabeth], 13 s. 4 d.

The Golden Ball. By the viscount Purbeck, if he so long live, a pepper corn.

A house adjoining to the Chequer, in Strand Lane, in the parish of St. Clement Danes; not on lease, £ 16.

The Sugar Loaf, £ 30.

The house adjoining to the Sugar Loaf. Let by queen Elizabeth together, 15 s.

The Plough. Let by king James, 23 s. 4 d.

The Bird-in-Hand. Let by queen Elizabeth, 26 s. 8 d.

These premises were, by letters patent dated November 11, in the 17th year of the late king James, granted by the late king Charles, as then prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, unto John viscount Purbeck, by the name or number of "twenty-four messuages, but since divided into more tenements," for the term of 99 years, if the said viscount

viscount should so long live, paying yearly ten shillings at Michaelmas.

The lands granted to the duke of Somerset extended much beyond the ground occupied by Somerset House; for they included as above.

John Villiers, brother to the first George duke of Buckingham, was created baron of Stoke in the county of Buckingham, and viscount Purbecke in Dorsetshire, by James I. The title became extinct in his son Robert.

The above circumstance is related pretty largely in Mr. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, Vol. II. p. 40. 70. 109. 120. from which Mr. Walpole's words will be most to the purpose:

“ Somerset House had a narrow escape, during that history of destructions of which an account is preserved in a very scarce tract, intitled, ‘ *An Essay on the Wonders of God, in the Times that preceded Christ, and how they met in him*; written in France, by John D’Espagne, minister of the Gospel (who died in 1650), and now published in English, by his Executor Henry Browne. Lond. 1662, 8vo. In the preface the editor tells us that the author preached at the French church in Durham House, where his sermons were attended by many of the nobility and gentry. That demolished, he says, it pleased God to touch the hearts of the nobility to procure us an order of the House of Peers, to exercise our devotions at Somerset House Chapel, which was the cause, not only of the driving away the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sects that had got in there, but also hindered the pulling down of Somerset House; there having been an order, from the late usurped powers, for felling the said house; but we prevailed so far that we still got order to

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exempt

exempt the chapel from being sold, which broke the design of those who had bought the said house, who thought, for their improvement, to have made a street from the garden through the ground the chapel stands on, and so up the back yard to the great street of the Strand, by pulling down the said chapel."

By an act of the Parliament, after the King's death, in the year 1650, intituled, "An Act of the Commons assembled " in Parliament, for the Sale of the Honours, Manors, and " Lands, heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen, and " Prince, &c." several tenements in the Strand, parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart and Henrietta-Maria, late King and Queen of England, belonging unto Somerset House, were sold. The purpose of this sale was the payment of arrears to the Army of the Parliament.

Elizabeth eldest daughter of king James I. dowager of Frederick count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, elector, cupbearer, and high steward of the Empire, and elected by the states of the kingdom king of Bohemia, of which last honour, and his own dominions, he was soon after divested by the Emperor, died at Leicester House, Thursday, Feb. 13, 1661, and was thence, the Monday following, conveyed to Somerset House, early in the morning; and thence, in the evening, conveyed by barge, to Westminster Abbey, being accompanied to her sepulchre by her son prince Rupert, and many of the nobles; and privately interred in the same vault, in Henry VII's chapel, with her elder brother prince Henry*.

* Sandford, Genealogical History, 2d edit. p. 565.

C H A R L E S II.

Though the Parliament, soon after the late King's execution, disposed by sale of many tenements which had been erected on such of the ground obtained by the Duke of Somerset as was not comprehended within the scale of his own house; yet nothing was attempted tending to deface or lessen the principal edifice, which remained to our time in the state it was found at the Restoration. After the decease of the duke of Somerset, and the consequent humiliation of his family, such superfluous land as was without the walls of Somerset House seems to have been let to builders by the Crown, for certain terms of years, on ground-rents, and to have been covered with houses for tradesmen; which were afterwards granted away, partly by Queen Elizabeth, and partly by king James, at small reserved rents, which have appeared from the Parliamentary Survey. We will now resume what we have to say upon the mansion itself.

On the Restoration of king Charles II. this palace reverted to the possession of his mother, the queen Dowager Henrietta-Maria, so long as she lived, and was resumed by her when she returned to England, in November 1660. On this occasion Abraham Cowley wrote a copy of verses in honour of this house, which may be seen in his Works. Amid the general joy, however, on account of the King's restoration, this palace was opened with scenes of mourning; first on the death of the King's brother the duke of Gloucester, whose body lay in state here till the funeral, in September 1660*;

* Kennett's Register.

and, soon afterwards, in the December following, on a like occasion, on the decease of the King's sister Mary princess of Orange, who came into England to felicitate her brother king Charles on his happy return. Her corpse reposed for a few days at Somerset House; after which it was interred in the royal vault at Westminster*.

As soon as this palace was repaired for the Queen's accommodation, she resided in it, with the same establishment as she retained when she left it. Her Majesty's jointure was thirty thousand pounds *per annum*, to which the King added a pension of equal annual value from the Exchequer; and she seems now (for the moment) in the reign of her son to have felt an attachment to this country, which she so much detested in the reign of her husband. The Queen Dowager having long been a stranger to her former state and magnificence, and having seen many errors in her conduct as Queen Consort; it is no wonder, considering what she had suffered by the King's ignominious death, added to the hardships which she had endured abroad in an exile of nineteen years, that she should rejoice at her return: and, it is said that, on re-entering Somerset House, she penitentially exclaimed, "If I had known the temper of the English some years past as well as I do now, I had never been obliged to leave *this House* †." Both her return and her declaration were, however, in bishop Kennett's opinion, but mere copies of the Queen's real sentiments and design, which ultimately pointed at two favourite objects. The first of these was the union of

* Anonymous Life of queen Henrietta-Maria, p. 59. 12mo. 1671. and Kennett's Register.

† Granger's Biographical History, III. p. 172. 8vo. 1775.

her

her daughter Henrietta-Maria with Philip duke of Orleans and brother to Louis XIV.; and the second was, the marriage of her son king Charles II. with an Infanta of Portugal, thereby firmly to strengthen the interests of the Church of Rome, in which proceedings, to use the bishop's own words, her Majesty "shewed herself more a daughter of France than a queen mother of England*."

The residence of the Queen Dowager in this kingdom was but a short duration, not exceeding four years, when, ostensibly on account of the Plague, and possibly with a desire of visiting her daughter the duchess of Orleans, or perhaps (which is more probable) on finding herself overpowered by the Protestant cause, her Majesty voluntarily retired into France, A. D. 1665, where she died A. D. 1669, and was interred at St. Dennis, with the honours usually paid to a Queen Mother of France†.

The house was now again uninhabited by any of the Royal family, though destined as a jointure house for Catharine of Portugal contingently; an event which afterwards took effect.

The first occasion that occupied it, after the death of queen Henrietta-Maria, was the funeral obsequies of George Monk duke of Albemarle, &c. who died within a few months after the Queen Mother, and whose interment was solemnized with more pomp than ever was known to have been conferred upon a subject. The whole expence was defrayed by the King; and the ceremonial has been preserved in a great number of large engravings; but what brings it forward to

* Kennett's Register, p. 307.

† Annals of the Universe, *sub anno præd.*

us is, that the body was, “ by his Majesty’s command, re-
 “ moved to Somerset House, and there placed for many
 “ weeks in royal state, attended with all the ceremonies of
 “ pompous mourning *.”

The next opportunity we have of observing this palace to have been made use of was on an occasion very different in itself, and most important in the event: for it became the residence of William prince of Orange, afterwards king William III. when he came hither to espouse the princess Mary, 1677 †. It may be presumed that it was the place of their joint residence after the marriage for the few weeks they remained in England before they embarked for Holland.

After the demise of king Charles II. this palace became the property, during life, of the queen dowager Catharine of Portugal, and here she kept her court ‡ till her secession into her native country. The manners of Catharine were far from being acceptable to the English; and, as she had been treated with the coldest neglect by king Charles, who had peopled his Court with illegitimate issue by mistresses who resided under the Queen’s eye, a longer residence in England could not be very flattering to her, who was childless, and without agreeable inducements. To this we may add, that she had lived here long enough to be a witness to the overthrow of her own Religion. She retired to Portugal, therefore,

* Dr. Skinner’s Life of George Monk duke of Albemarle, p. 376. 2d edit. 8vo. 1724.

† Seymour’s Survey of London, II. 683. fol.

‡ At this period, we learn, by one of Bagford’s MSS. both the Benedictine Monks at St. James’s and the Capuchins at Somerset House had good libraries.

soon after the Revolution had fully taken place, in the year 1692, where she died A. D. 1705 ; and though she was a rigid Papist, and resided within the pale of the church of Rome, she was complimented, during her life, with being prayed for *by name* in our Liturgy as a part of the Royal Family.

Thus this Queen Dowager had the ostensible occupation of Somerset House during the whole reigns of king James II. and king William, till the third year of queen Anne. It is but justice to her memory, however, to add what bishop Burnet says of this Queen after she took leave of England and returned to Portugal, where, during the bad state of that King's health, his lordship says, " Our Queen Dowager was " set at the head of their councils ; her administration much " commended ; and that she was very careful of the English, " and all their concerns *."

* Own Times, sub anno 1704.

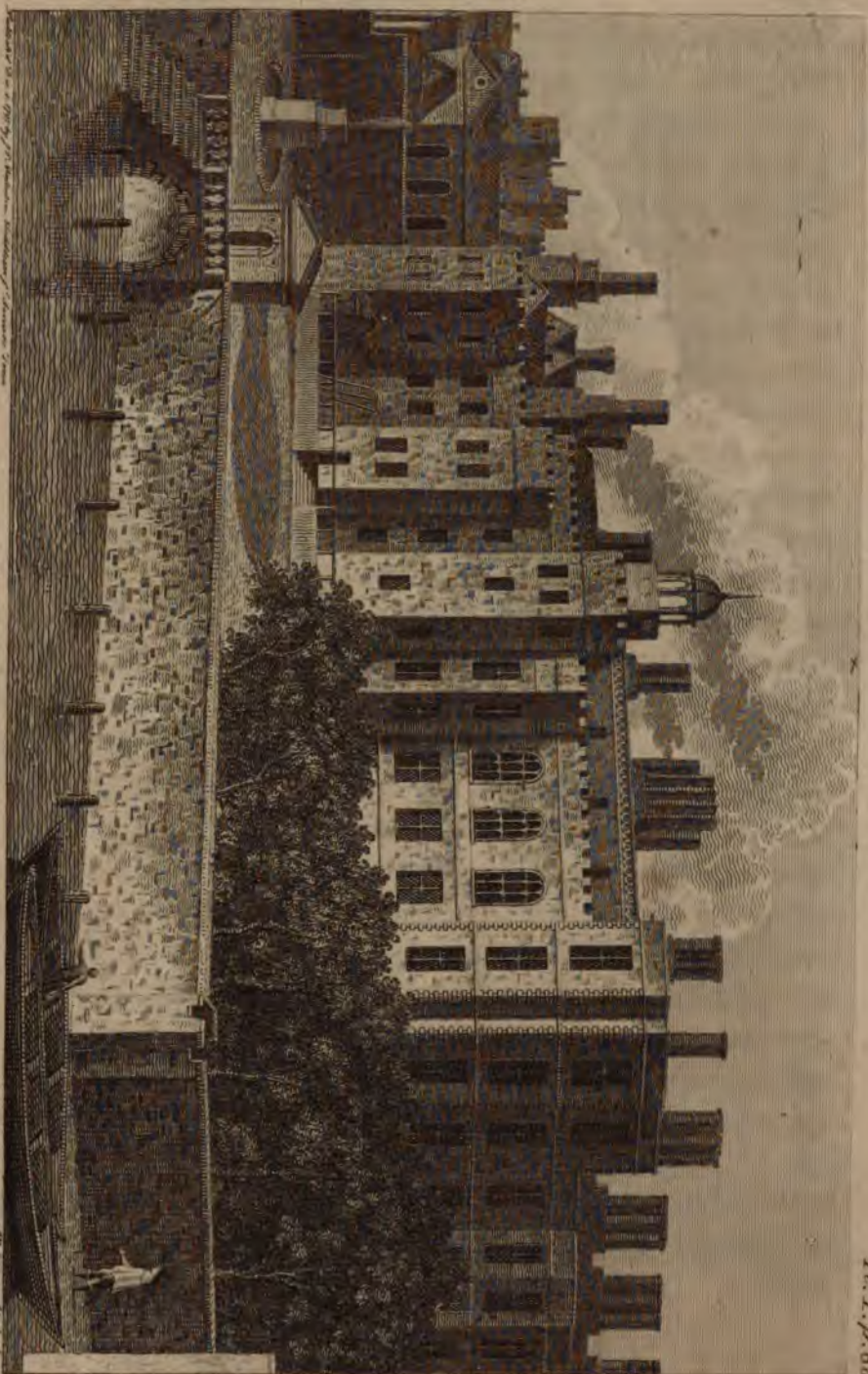
DESCRIP-

DESCRIPTION OF SOMERSET HOUSE.

NOT being conversant with Architecture, I shall not affect to lay before the Reader a description of the house except as I find it given by writers who have mentioned it. London and Westminster are so very much altered since the time of its erection, and the manners and taste of the world so much changed within two centuries, that splendor itself has varied its complexion. It must be confessed, that, as Extravagance has increased, Hospitality has diminished ; which is as much as to say, that such bounty as was anciently laid out on substantial living is now consumed in costly mirrors, and fantastic furniture ; while the whimsical variety of the table has supplanted the plentiful supply which began with the rich, and terminated in the relief of the poor, now no longer fed at the gates of the opulent. But, to proceed to such descriptions of the building, &c. as I find on record, without further comment of my own.

Norden, who does not go into any delineations of the edifice itself, has told us, that it was “ a most stately house, and of great receyte, ” or capable of containing a large household ; and that it was delightfully situated on the Thames, with a prospect toward the South, “ offering manie pleasing delights.” Its view was not then obstructed by buildings and timber yards on the opposite side of the river, which continued uninterrupted into Kent and Surrey.

Seymour,



SOMERSET PALACE
1650.

Pl. I. p. 80.

Seymour, in his Survey of London and Westminster (in two volumes, folio, 1735) is, of all Topographers, the most copious in his description of Somerset House. "It had," says he, "a beautiful front towards the water side, with a piazza, fountain, walks, and statues. The front towards the Strand is adorned with columns and entablature of the Dorick order. It is very reasonable, says an ingenious architect, to think that Somerset House was the first building in England that exhibited any resemblance of Grecian architecture, and wherein much labour and curious workmanship was employed. But the stone, being of a soft and loose texture, soon became liable to decay and injury by weather; so that now the edifice is almost entirely defaced, and very few members remain perfect to inform us what they originally were. At present the most remarkable part of this palace is the chapel, built by Inigo Jones, in which the Dorick Order is enriched in the most extravagant manner, as may be seen in the 92d Plate of the 'Principles of ancient Masonry, &c.' The author of 'A Critical Review of the publick Buildings' (continues Seymour) speaks thus of this Palace: 'I am exceedingly pleased with the front of the first court of Somerset House next the Strand, as it affords us a view of the dawning of Taste in England, this being the only fabrick, that I know of, which deviates ever so little from the Gothick, or imitates ever so remotely the manner of the ancients. Here are columns, arches, and cornice, that appear to have some meaning: and if proportions are neglected, if beauty is not perfectly understood, if there is a strange mixture of barbarism and splendour in it, the mistakes admit of great alleviations. In all probability, the Architect was an Englishman, and this his first attempt to

M

refine

refine on his predecessors. Perhaps he had not an opportunity to review the Italian models, or form his judgment on the plans of the Ancients. At all events the Duke, who was at the expence of this costly undertaking, is to be applauded for setting this glorious example of a taste till then unknown in the kingdom; for chusing so charming a situation, just in the middle of the bow which the river forms between the Bridge and Westminster, commanding the prospect both ways, looking directly on the fine hills of Surrey. 'Tis not to be doubted but the new front next the gardens has greatly the advantage of the old; nothing can be conceived more in taste, or better calculated to answer the view from the water; and yet even here we have the mortification to see it left unfinished, though a trifle more of charge would make it perfect; I mean according to the plan on which it was originally designed; for, if the most was to be made of the situation, it is capable of beauties which very few others would allow. The inequality of ground, for example, leaves room to shew the upper glory of the court next the Strand over the top of that belonging to the gardens; and what beautiful use might be made of such an advantage I leave to the understanding architect to imagine*."

'Thus far Mr. Seymour,†. In the preceding eulogium no person is pointed at for either the architect or the designer. The

* The full title of the work which Mr. Seymour has above cited, is, "A Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues, and Ornaments, in and about London and Westminster." It was first published in 1734, in octavo. An enlarged edition came out in 1736. See Mr. Gough's *Anecdotes of British Topography*, ed. 1768. p. 313.

† Vol. II. p. 683. 694.

writer

writer of the Critical Review of the Public Buildings, &c. (above given on the authority of Mr. Seymour) takes it for granted that the architect was an Englishman; a doubtful point, and for which we have barely his own *ipse dixit*, unsupported by the least evidence. On the other hand, Mr. Delahay Gordon, who published "The lives, trials, and executions of royal and noble Personages that had suffered for High Treason and other crimes," accuses the Duke (though without giving his authority) of "bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a house as had not been seen in England, at a time when the King was engaged in dangerous wars, and London much disordered by the plague*." On the same side Mr. Walpole, on better ground, has given us a sufficient insight whercon to found a plausible conjecture, and which I believe is all that can be contended for. The style of Somerset House, he says, is a compound of Grecian and Gothic architecture, and conceives it to have been the work of John of Padua. Mr. Walpole had discovered that this architect had been in the service of king Henry VIII. and was termed in the warrant of his appointment "devisor of his Majesty's buildings;" and that in 1544 he had a grant of two shillings *per diem*†. This was within three years of the demise of the King. Mr. Walpole further observes, that the pension to *John de Padua* "was renewed in the third year of king Edward; and thence one may suppose that he owed it to the Protector, and that he was the architect of this pa-

* Vol. I. p. 341.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*. The office of Devisor continued to exist in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Peck's *Defiderata Curiosa*.

lace *." The Duke, it is true, was in publick disgrace for part of that year; though he could not but have interest, even when in the Tower, to obtain a provision from the hands of king Edward for one who, as Mr. Walpole supposes, had been employed by himself in the erection of the great mansion his Grace meditated to complete: but the Duke's influence with the King revived at least as soon as he was discharged from his confinement; and his pardon was obtained in the same year, when he proceeded with his edifice.

Another collateral and forcible argument in favour of John of Padua † is brought forward by Mr. Walpole; where he says, that Longleat (the seat of the marquis of Bath) is built in a similar style to that of Somerset House, and supposed to have been the work of the same architect, though it was not begun till the year 1567. There is a further corroborating circumstance to be attended to; for Longleat was erected by Sir John Thynne ‡, who, having been secretary and steward of the household to the duke of Somerset when Protector, might have a predilection for this architect. I presume that the name of the builder appears in the family books of the expences of the edifice, preserved at Longleat, which are mentioned in Collins's Peerage §. Though the probability may incline to John of Padua, we can ascertain

* Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1782, vol. I. p. 208.

† "In the Combination Room at Caius College, Cambridge, is a portrait of John of Padua, who built that College and Somerset House, on the old front of which, next the Strand, were some Doric columns, like those at Caius College."

Dr. Ducarel's Letter to Smart Lethicullier, in the hands of Mr. Gough.

‡ Of Sir John Thynne's wealth, see Fuller's Worthies.

§ Edit. 1779.

nothing

nothing more than Mr. Walpole's researches have supplied: and therefore it will but be natural justice to mention contemporary architects whom Mr. Walpole has brought forward as the leading men in the profession at the time, *viz.* Jerome de Trevisi, an architect as well as a painter; Sir Richard Lea (or à Leigh) king Henry's Master Mason; and Hector Ashley, who was at least a supervisor, if not an architect, employed by king Henry*. This is all I am warranted to suggest, for which I am obliged to Mr. Walpole as to the architect, and which, after all, must be left open to further suggestions: but however, while we are searching for a designer, in aid of the architect, be it whom it might, I would submit to consideration, whether we may not look with much probability to Hans Holbein? Chronologically speaking, we may; as he had long been employed by king Henry VIII. in the several branches in which he excelled; was living, under the protection of king Edward, in apartments at Whitehall; and in 1549 was in health and vigour of mind, and not more than 52 years of age. Mr. Walpole gives Holbein credit for more skill than in painting alone; for he is of opinion, that "the beginning of reformation in *Building* seems owing to Holbein†:" further, "that his talents were not confined to his pictures; he was an *Architect*, he *modelled*, *carved*, and was excellent in *designing ornaments*‡." I shall close this topick by observing, that Holbein's merits as a painter were not unknown to the Protector;

* Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. I. pp. 199, 200.

† Idem, I. p. 196.

‡ Idem, I. p. 153. See also Mr. Granger's Biographical History; who, if he has not followed, has corroborated Mr. Walpole as to Holbein's skill in architecture.

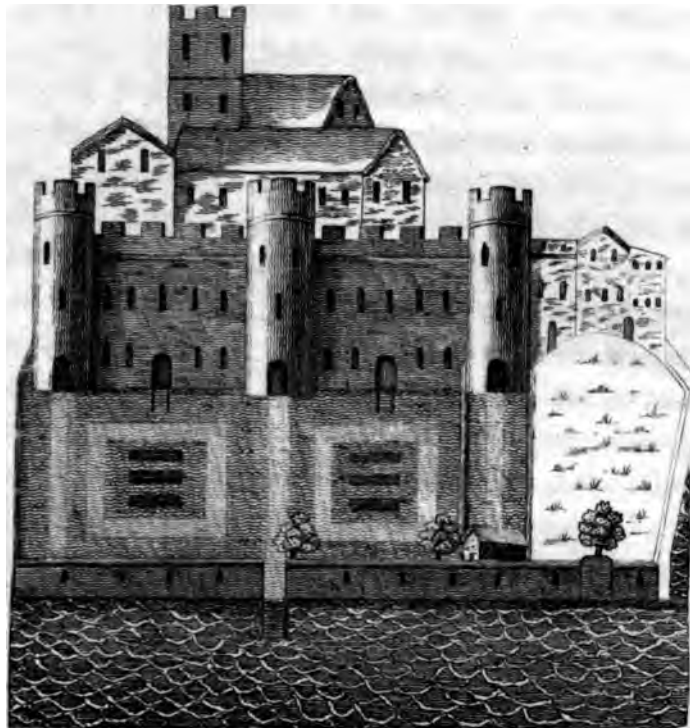
for

for his Grace sat to him for a portrait which was in the collection of the late duke of Somerset, and of which an engraving may be seen among the heads of illustrious persons of Great Britain, by Houbraken and Vertue*.

Here then I must leave this matter, and return to the building itself. It has been observed, that it was the peculiar fate of this House (or) rather this Palace) never to have been finished, either by its projector, or any subsequent proprietor. Anne of Denmark would probably have done it, had she survived king James; for her design does not appear to have been completed; and it was left, at her demise, in a state which rather implied an intention of rendering the East wing correspond with the West wing. As to queen Henrietta-Maria, she seemed chiefly to have directed her attention to the ecclesiastical part of her establishment, by the erection of an elegant chapel, and providing habitations for her Friars. Her tenure soon became precarious by the temper of the times; and on her return after the Restoration, from the turn which religious affairs took, she had nothing to induce her to reside long here, and much less to embellish her palace. Catharine of Portugal was in the same predicament after the demise of king Charles II.

But to proceed a little further with the description of the house. In Mr. Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey, 1720, we are told, that "at the entrance out of the Strand is a spacious court garnished on all sides with rows of free-stone buildings; and at the front is a piazza, with stone pillars which support the buildings, and a pavement of free-stone: which said place [or piazza] leadeth into the Great Hall,

* Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes, I. p. 149.



SOMERSET HOUSE.

next the River;

1568.

or Guard-room, and so into other rooms, where you ascend up by a large stair-case into the rooms of state. Besides this first court, there are other large ones, which are descended to towards the river by spacious stairs of free-stone. The outward beauty of this court appears by a view from the water, having a good front, and a most pleasant garden which runs to the water-side. More Westward is a large yard adjoining to the Savoy, made use of for the coach-houses, and stables *."

Mr. Strype laments that the front to the street had not been taken more care of from time to time; and his observation is just, as many now living can recollect that the stone was too soft to preserve the sharpness of its ornaments with an exposure to the North. Nay, Mr. Strype even thought that the adjacent range of brick houses (newly built in his time) on each side much eclipsed this Palace †. As to the beauty of the front, much of it had suffered by time and weather when it was taken down, and its elegance and symmetry were left to conjecture by corresponding parts which remained. What survived, being the front and South side of the first court, has been preserved by a drawing by F. Jukes, which, I presume, was patronized by the Society of Antiquaries ‡, taken on the spot 1775, from actual measurement, by Wm. Moss, and engraved in *aqua tinta*.

As to the South or garden-front, as far as the view of it in Ralph Aggas's map § of the year 1588, will go, the building appears to be perfectly uniform, and nothing but the

* Book IV. p. 112.

† Strype's edition of Stowe, *ubi supra*.

‡ There is an elevation of the gallery in the Vitruvius Britannicus.

§ Copied by Mr. Baire in the plate here annexed.

spirit of modernizing could seemingly induce queen Anne of Denmark to make any alterations in it.

It is described, by the editor of the *New View of London**, to have "a beautiful front towards the waterside, with a piazza, fountain, walks, and statues. The front, toward the Strand, is adorned with columns and entablatures of the Dorick Order: the court is a large quadrangle built on each side †."

From queen Henrietta-Maria's decease 1705, the House seems not to have been again occupied by any of the royal family: there were indeed no collateral branches who had occasion for such a residence during the remainder of the reign of queen Anne; and no prince of the house of Hanover seems to have entertained any predilection for it. The last-mentioned author says that, in the year of his publication, 1708, Somerset House was inhabited by the earl of Feverham, lady Arlington, &c. who have lodgings therein. This, therefore, I believe has been the case ever since, with a change of persons, except that the state apartments were reserved, unoccupied, to serve for occasional purposes. Even then it was accounted a Royal House, and had two sentinels at the gate, as also a porter, a house-keeper, a chaplain, and a reader, &c.

I shall not attempt to describe the House as it was when it began to be entirely taken down, a few years ago; but shall content myself chiefly with the short account left by Mr. Strype, in his edition of Stowe's *History of London and Westminster*, published 1720. In the same edition of Stowe, facing p. 105, in Vol. II. is a tolerable perspective view of

* In two volumes, 8vo. 1708.

† Vol II p. 633.



House in the Strand.

B. Cole sculp.

the house, with the pleasure-gardens, from the river, which is here presented to the reader in Plate III.

The facade of the building to the street, from its exposure to the North, lost much of its beauty long before its final dissolution; for Mr. Strype, or one of his co-editors in the edition of Stowe, 1720, laments it, where he says, there is “a stately pile of new brick-houses on both sides of Somerset House, which much eclipse that Palace; so that it is pity it were not beautified, especially that part which fronts the high street *.”

On the 10th of April 1775, a message from the King was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, that “His Majesty, desirous that a better and more suitable accommodation should be made for the residence of the Queen in case she should survive him, and being willing that the Palace in which his Majesty now resides, called *The Queen's House*, may be settled for that purpose, recommends to both Houses to take the same into consideration; and to make provision for settling the said Palace upon her Majesty, and for appropriating Somerset House to such uses as shall be found most beneficial to the publick.”

On the 26th of the same month the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee, to consider of his Majesty's Message relative to settling Buckingham House on her Majesty, in lieu of Somerset House; when they came to several resolutions, which are in substance as follows.

“That it is the opinion of the Committee, that the Palace lately known by the name of *Buckingham House*, and now

* Vol. II. p. 112.

called *The Queen's House*, be settled on the Queen, in lieu of Somerset House, in case she shall survive his Majesty.

“ That, from and after the determination of such settlement, the said Palace be annexed to, and vested in, the Crown of Great Britain.

“ That the Palace of Somerset House, which, by an Act made in the 2d year of his present Majesty's reign, was settled upon the Queen, be vested in his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, for the purpose of erecting and establishing certain Public Offices.”

An Act was consequently passed, May 26, 1775, intituled, “ An Act for settling Buckingham House on the Queen, in lieu of Somerset House.”

In 1779, the stately front of the new building, now called by its old name, *Somerset Place*, was completed, as shewn in Plate IV *.

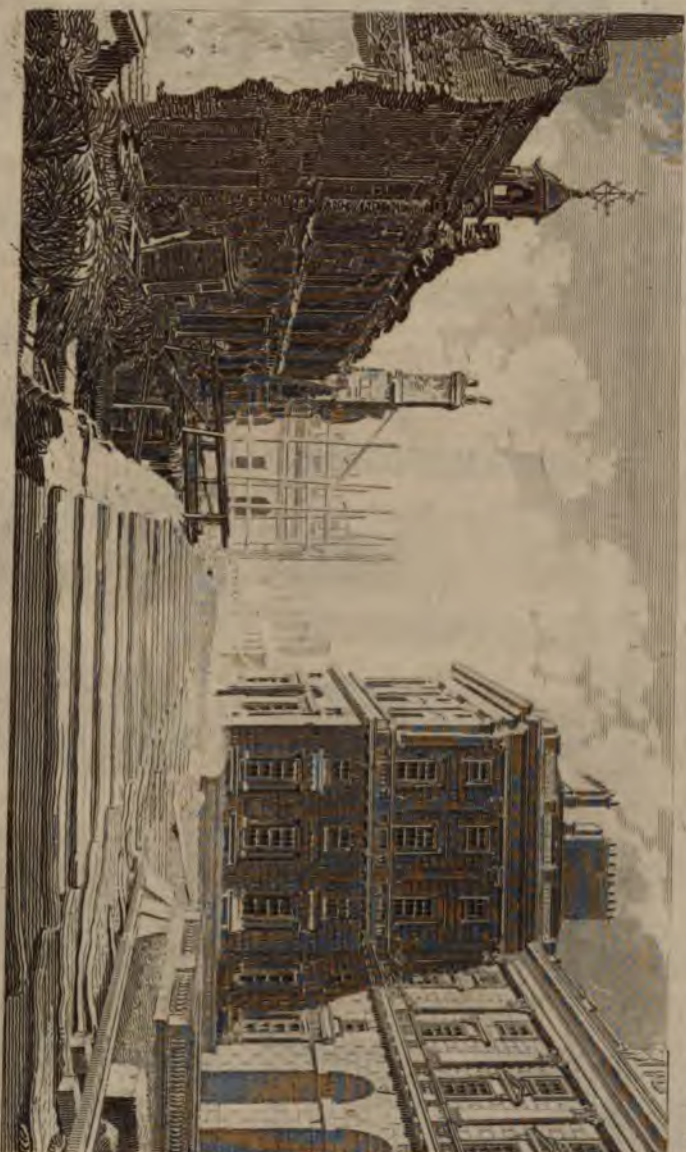
June 1, 1780, a Resolution passed, for granting £25,000. for buildings at Somerset House; another, May 21, 1782, for granting £36,000.; and another, in 1784, of £25,000. for the same purpose.

The estimates for the building and completion of the new works, as given in to the House of Commons in March 1790, were £334,703. already expended, with the addition of £33,500. more to be expended †.

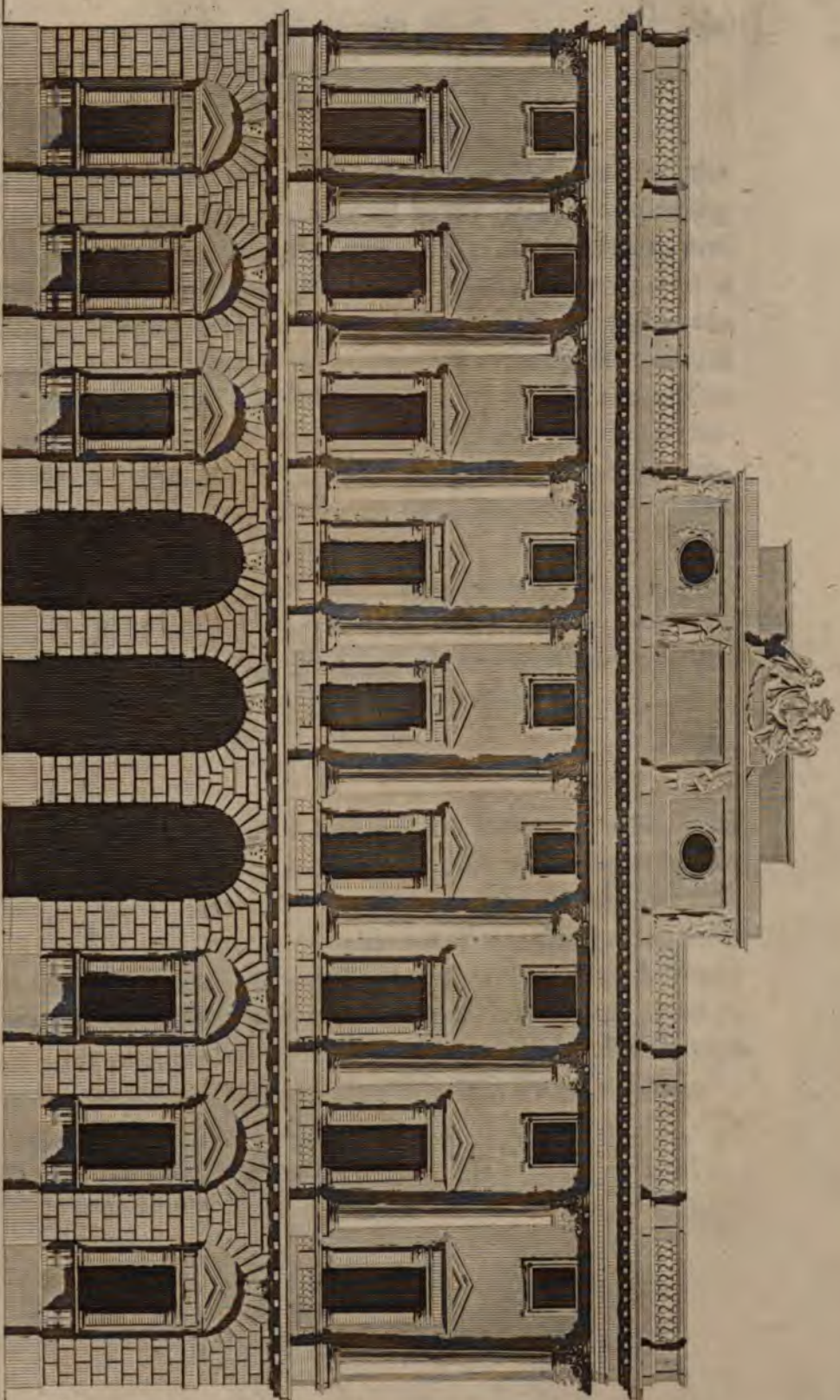
* Originally published in *Gent. Mag.* vol. XLIX. p. 1. from a drawing by Mr. Carter. The back front, by the same able Artist, is also engraved in that volume, p. 392.

† Journals of the House of Commons.

There



VIEW OF THE INNER PART OF OLD SOMERSET HOUSE.



Winter day

W. B. 1790

Front View of the ROYAL ACADEMY, ROYAL & ANTIQVARIAN SOCIETIES &c. in the Strand.

100

There are many who recollect the venerable aspect of the court-way from the Strand, as well as the dark and winding steps which led down to the garden, for years suffered to run to decay, and where the antient and lofty trees spread a melancholy aspect over the neglected boundary, by no means unpleasing to the visitor, who, in a few moments, could turn from noise and tumult to stillness and repose. The view annexed [PLATE IV.] represents the inner front of Somerset House; which, at the time the drawing was made, was all that remained of that once magnificent palace. The sheetings of lead on which the present pavement is laid; the watch-box; the wooden way to the remains of the old building, with part of the front, arched entrance, scaffolding, and progress of the new; are here exactly delineated, and from a view not less curious than interesting*.

The Royal Academy, instituted in December 1768, and first opened Jan. 2, 1769, originally held their meetings in Pall-mall, where, on the 26th of May, they had their first exhibition of paintings†; but in 1779 removed to Somerset house, where they occupy the West wing of the North front; and where they first held their annual exhibition, May 1, 1780‡. On the ground floor of this wing is their Exhibition Room for Sculpture, and the Hawkers and Pedlars' Office.

* Gent. Mag. vol. LXVIII. p. 9.

† Ibid. vol. XXXIX. pp. 46. 50. 266.

‡ Ibid. vol. XLIX. pp. 92, 93. vol. L. p. 220.

The Royal Society first held their meeting in Somerset house Nov. 30, 1780; and the Society of Antiquaries on Thursday, Jan. 11, 1781. The apartments of these two learned Societies occupy the greatest part of the East wing of the North front: on the ground floor is the Library* of the Society of Antiquaries; behind which are the Privy Seal and Signet Offices, the Lottery Office, and the Hackney Coach Office.

The South front, separated from the Thames by a noble Terrace, is occupied by the Navy Office and Stamp Office.

The West wing contains the Navy Pay Office and Victualing Office; and at the Northern end of this wing, till lately, was the Sick and Wounded Office, which has very recently been incorporated with the Transport Office in Dorset Square, and the old office has not yet been appropriated. Behind this wing is a street, bounded to the West by the Treasurer of the Navy's house, and by houses appropriated to the Commissioners. The Salt Office, formerly in this wing, is now consolidated with the Excise Office.

In the East wing is the Tax Office; the Offices of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster; the Office of the Auditor of Imprest; the Pipe Office; Comptroller of the Pipe, and Clerk of the Estreats; behind all which is a street, bounded to the East by ground not yet built on.

The Surveyor also under the Surveyor of the Board of Works has apartments for his residence, but not an office here.

* In this Library is an account of the standing wardrobe in Denmark-house, 1629.

Two roomes.

Over Mr. Laforce lives the Widow Smith.

One roome.

Quitted. { Under Mr. Greenwood's is Mr. Vice Chamberlin's Porter's Larder.

C The Labby leading to the Earle of Feversham's lodgings.

Quitted. { Over the Labby is Mr. Vice Chamberlin's Porter's Nursery, two roomes, one pair of staires.

4 Over Mr. Vice Chamberlin's Porter's Nursery lives Mr. Rose, one roome.

The Queen's Guard Chamber.

Under the Queen's Guard Chamber lives Mr. Buzway, the Earl of Feversham's steward, having four roomes next the Cloysters of the Garden, and one belonging to Mr. Ruffia, yeoman of the Wine-celler.

Under Mr. Buzway's and Mr. Ruffia's is the Queen's cellers.

The Queen's kitchen.

Under the Queen's kitchen is cellers belonging to several people.

Over the kitchen is the Auditor's Office divided into four roomes.

F The Lobby and old Council Chamber, divided, now in the possession of Madam Melows, the Earl of Feversham's neece.

Quitted. { Over the Lobby and Council Chamber, one pair of staires, three roomes belonging to the late Sir John Arundell.

Two pair of staires belonging to the same, inhabited by Mr. Travenell.

Under the old Council Chamber is stone staires leading to the stable yard and the Queen's bake-house.

Under the Queen's bake-house is the Queen's wett larder.

Quitted. { Under part of the Council Chamber, over against the Queen's bake-house, is a celler belonging to the late Sir John Arundell.

Under that a kitchen belonging to the Clerk of the Works.

A staire-case next.

Sir

- Sir Richard Bealing's* lodgings, on the right hand two
 E roomes.
 Under one a pantry belonging to Sir Richard.
 Under the other a roome belonging to the Clerk of the
 Workes, inhabited by Madam Melows.
 Then the passages leading over the coach-houses.
 Quitted. { One roome more on the right hand belonging to Sir
 Richard Bealing.
 Over them, one pair of staires, three roomes to ditto.
 Over them, two paire of staires, the old Treasury, two
 roomes.
 Quitted. { Under the first floor belonging to foresaid Sir Richard
 Bealing is a kitchen and cellers.
 Next a stair-case.
 D Next the Countess of Arlington's† lodgings, one roome.
 Over the same, one pair of staires, one roome.
 Over the same, two pair of staires, two roomes.
 Under the first floor is a kitchen.
 Under the kitchen a celler, all belonging to the Countess
 of Arlington.
 D The said Countess of Arlington's first floor, fronting the
 street, on the right hand, coming in att the gateway.
 Three roomes.
 Over that, one pair of staires, two roomes.
 Under the first floor is a larder, pantry, and cellers be-
 longing to ditto.
 Quitted. { Over the gateway, two pair of staires, one roome divided
 belonging to Mr. Arundell.
 G. The Clerk of the Workes house in the stable yard ad-
 joyning to the coach-houses.
 Two ground roomes.
 Two roomes, one pair of staires, over the same.
 Over ditto two garrettes, inhabited by Madam Melows,
 the Earl of Feverham's neece.
 H Adjoyning to the Clerk of the Workes house over the
 coach-houses,

* John Bealing married a daughter of the Aylmer family of Dullardston, from
 whom Lord Aylmer derives his descent, and with whom, and the first Earl of Fingal,
 there was also an intermarriage. Archdale's Irish Peerage, VII. 61.

Sir Richard Bealing, knt. was principal Secretary to Catharine Queen Dowager of
 England, and one of the Trustees of Peter, 4th Earl of Fingall. Ib. VI. 187.
 † Relict of Henry Bennet, first and only Earl of Arlington, who died 1685.

Three roomes on a floor, late Madam Tuke's lodgings,
 Quitted. and the Clerk of the Kitchin's, possessed by Sir Richard
 Beading.

Two garretts over the same.

H The next lodgings adjoining over the coach-houses,
 Quitted. two roomes and a closett on a floor, possessed by Maddam
 Windham.

Over the said garretts.

Under the closett a kitchen, part taken out of one of the
 coach-houses.

Father Christopher's lodgings between the Chappell and
 the Queen's great stair-case.

Quitted. K { One ground-room,
 One roome one pair of staires.
 One roome two pair of staires.

Over the same one roome, three pair of staires, belong-
 ing to Mr. Hewett, auditor.

A celler under the low roome belonging to the gardener.

The Queen's great staires going down to the garden.

The Queen's lodgings fronting the garden, from the
 great staires home to the long gallery.

Quitted. 4 { Over them is Mr. Vice Chamberlin Porter's lodgings,
 containing five roomes.

Quitted. 5 { Next adjoining on that floor is the Portugal Lady's
 lodgings, containing four roomes.

The long gallery.

Over part of the long gallery is one roome and a closett
 belonging to the Lady Johannah Thornhill.

The cross gallery.

At the end of the cross gallery, next Strand-lane, is a
 roome called the Yellow Roome.

The new Council Chamber, the back of the Lower
 Court, under part of the Queen's lodgings fronting the
 Thames.

Three roomes inhabited by Mr. Crammoor, late the
 lodgings of the Earle of Hallyfax.

Under that Sir Cesar Cranmore's lodgings, containing
 four roomes.

A passage going into the garden under the long gallery.

Mr.

Mr. Vice Chamberlin Sayer's lodgings, reaching the whole length under the long gallery fronting the flower-garden.

Under Mr. Sayer's lodgings, next the flower-garden, is Ma. Killegrew's, containing four roomes.

Under Mr. Sayer's (next Mr. Killegrew's) is Mr. Sayer's landery and servant's room.

Under the cross gallery, one room, late Mr. Maxfield's, in possession of Mr. Sayer's.

Under that is Mr. Sayer's kitchen.

Quitted. { Adjoyning to Mr. Maxfield's is one room belonging to Madam Crane under the cross gallery.

Next is one room belonging to Mrs. Cranmore, daughter to Sir Caesar Cranmore.

Quitted. { And under them kitchen and cellars belonging to Madam Crane.

Next to Mrs. Cranmore's is three roomes belonging to Mr. Thornhill.

Under that kitchen and cellars belonging to the same.

Under the yellow room is a room possessed by Mr. Early, Clerk of the Kitchen.

Under the great stair-case adjoyning, and Mr. Early's room, is the gardener's lodgings and grove, all fronting the flower-garden.

French roome, the back of the cross gallery, beginning at the east end.

Ground-floor, Madam Thornhill's, one room.

Quitted. Mrs. Cranmore, one room.

Mrs. Crane, one room.

Quitted. { The roomes one pair of staires and two pair of staires (over Mrs. Cranmore, Madam Thornhill, and Madam Cranes) is the lodgings of the late Lady Welch.

Quitted. { The next apartment under the said French roome, the ground-floor, and one story, being four roomes, the lodgings of Mr. Windebank.

Over the same, two pair of staires, the lodgings of the late Mr. Mead, Gentleman Usher.

The back of the long gallery fronting the lower court, the Queen's closet, ordary, and pages' waiting-room.

Over them is a dining-room belonging to the Lady Johannah Thornhill.

And

And two roomes belonging to Mr. Steephens.

6

Over Mr. Steephens is three roomes belonging to the Lady Johannah Thornhill on the leads.

Under the Queen's cloffett, &c. is three roomes belonging to Mr. Vice Chamberlin Sayers.

Under Mr. Sayers' roomes is Sir Cæsar Cranmore's kitchen, and two cellars belonging to Mr. Kellegrew.

Between the pages' waiting-roome and the back-staires is the Queen's Coffe-roome.

The Earl of Feversham's lodgings fronting the lower court behind the back-staires.

Three roomes and a cloffett.

Over that is his cooke's two roomes.

Under them is two roomes belonging to Mr. Devive his Lordship's upholsterer.

And one roome belonging to the Queen's house-keeper's servant.

Quitted.

Att the bottom of the round staires, coming down from the lobby into the lower court, under the Earl of Feversham's lodgings, is the late Sir John Arundel's kitchen, cellars, and larder.

Under the Queen's house-keeper's servant's roome, and Mr. Devive's, is the Earl of Feversham's kitchen, larder, and cellars.

Fronting the lower court is the Earl of Feversham's great roome.

Quitted.

Over the great roome is three roomes belonging to the Portugal Lady.

Under the great roome is two roomes and a cloffett belonging to old Madam Kellegrew.

Quitted.

Under Madam Kellegrew's is a celler belonging to the Portugal Lady.

Adjoyning to that is a confectionary belonging to the Earl of Feversham.

The back-stayres, with three roomes belonging to the pages.

No. 9.

And the back-stayers gallery is the stone gallery leading from the upper court to Mr. Sayers's lodgings, and the lodgings under the French rooffe.

The

The new buildings, the back of the upper court, fronting the cistern-house.

A kitchen and dining-roome belonging to Mr. Laforce, the Earl of Feversham's Secretary.

Quitted. Over them two roomes belonging to Mr. Roper.

Under Mr. Laforce one roome belonging to Mr. Rowland, Master of the Robes.

And one roome belonging to the Earl of Feversham's butler.

Under the butler's roome is the Countess of Arlington's landery.

Quitted. Under the other roome is Madam Roper's kitchen.

Mr. Dey's lodgings, called the Old Fryery, the ground-floor being in the plan.

Quitted. Under it is the kitchen and cellers.

Over it, one pair of staires, two roomes and cloffetts.

Two paire of staires the same, with garretts.

The Queen's Chappell.

The new Fryery, or Mr. Knight's Deputy Treasurer, the South end of the Chappell, the ground-floor being in the plan, being four roomes on a floor.

The first and second storys the same, and garrets divided.

Vaults under the Chappell, part belonging to the new, and part to the old Fryery.

The long shed below the new Fryery against the garden-wall going down to the water-side, part thereof being store-houses for the works, and part belonging to Mr. English, the Queen's woodmonger.

The Queen's stables, containing stands for eight setts of horses, seven to a sett.

Two hospatable stables for two horses each.

A roome against each of the hospatable stables for the keepers.

Over the stables, one pair of staires fronting the yard, the North end, one roome vacant.

Three roomes with cloffetts, inhabited by the Earl of Feversham's coachman.

The South end, next the store-yard, two roomes inhabited by the Earl of Feversham's postilion.

And one large roome by the coachman more.

The

The next adjoyning, by Mrs. Heath, widdow of the late Sir John Arundell's gentleman of the horse.

The front next Dutchy-lane, the North end, one roome and a cloffett, by the widow Freeman, late wife to the Queen Dowager's coachman.

Next to her two roomes, vacant.

Next to them a roome possessed by Madam Melows, the Earl of Feversham's neece.

Next to that one roome by the night porter of the court gate.

Quitted. Next to that one roome by Sir Richard Bealing's coachman.

Two pair of staires, the North end.

One roome by the Earl of Feversham's coachman.

Next three roomes by the porter of the water-gate.

Next to that one roome by the Clerk of the Works' servant.

The South end, two pair of staires, over the stables, two roomes by Clements the Earl of Feversham's footman.

Next to him is Cavelet, a Frenchman, that keeps a chandler's shopp in the stable-yard, one roome and cloffetts.

The store-yard belonging to the Works.



Extracts from a MS "Inventory of the Plate, Goods, Pictures, Statues, Regalia, &c. of King CHARLES the First; as taken, appraised, and sold at the severall Royal Palaces, &c."

(From a MS. in the Library of Mr. GOUGH.)

CHAPPELL GOODS AT SOMERSET HOUSE.

	£.	s.	d.
One coape and two shoulder pieces of damask, trimmed with gold	5	0	0
Two pieces for the altar suitable	8	10	0
Two ditto	3	0	0
A coape of white damask	2	10	0

Covers for Challices.

One of embroidered fatten	5	0	0
Another of purple ditto, with H. S.	1	10	0
Another of black fatten, with Death's head	2	10	0
Two of green fatten	3	0	0
One of black program	0	8	0
Six cushions of crimson damask	1	10	0
Tenn wafer baggs	2	10	0
Five Popish books			
Thirteen surplices	6	0	0
Eight altar clothes	2	0	0
Eleven borders of taffaty	1	10	0

Veffels of Terra Sigillata, or Buckroe Earth.

One great vase, one tunn, one syllabubb pott, four cupps, a long spout pott, a baskett, two red gilt potts, one flatt pott	80	0	0
Five perfuming potts	10	0	0
A barometer	0	10	0
An ebony cabinet	2	10	0
P	A	branch	

	£.	s.	d.
A branch of wild corall	1	10	0
A curious ivory cupp	4	0	0
A gilt rail for a bed	5	0	0
The images belonging to a pavillion	10	0	0
Mary and the Child in the clouds, in marble	3	0	0
Wife Men's offering, ditto	5	0	0
A Magdalen asleep	3	0	0
Mary and the Child, in a garden	2	10	0
A Magdalen	10	0	0
Chrift and an angel, on marble	3	0	0
A child fitting upon a cushion	0	10	0
Mary and the Child, with a garland	1	10	0
Ditto	1	0	0
A Magdalen, kneeling to a crucifix	1	0	0
Peter with the keys	1	10	0
A Magdalen, in a blew garment	1	0	0
Mary and the angel	5	0	0
Chrift naked	2	0	0
A Pope in white fattin	0	1	0
A Saint	0	10	0
Mary and Joseph	20	0	0
Ditto and the child	5	0	0
Ditto and ditto	2	0	0
A Magdalen	2	0	0
A Salutation	1	0	0
An anatomy in brafs	5	0	0
A piece of painting in water colours	10	0	0
One great piece of embroidered work	40	0	0
Seven heads of clay	10	0	0
The Dutcheſs of Savoy	1	0	0

Goods valued the 28th Nov. 1681, being appraised, as discovered
by Mr. Rumball, for William Winthurst.

A book of Camden's Works, in an embroidered caſe	3	0	0
A cheſs-table of ſilver, with 30 men ſilver and chriftial	30	0	0
Diana, in alablatter	2	10	0
A picture done on glaſs	1	10	0
A draught of a ſhip	0	10	0
A dark piece	1	0	0
The king of Denmark	1	0	0
	A cheſt		

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
A chest of phials	3	0	0
Two books, one of the Order of the Knights of the Garter; the other a French History	1	10	0

Goods valued Nov. 28, 1681.

An organ	10	0	0
A sword	42	0	0
Another, smaller	10	0	0
A piece of perspective	2	10	0
Two old cisterns	3	10	0

Received from the Library.

Two cymballs of brass	0	10	0
Two pair of stirrups and a pair of spurrs	2	0	0
An elephant's tooth	1	10	0
A small marble statue	2	0	0
Part of an old clock	2	0	0

Goods valued with Mr. Brown, Nov. 12, 1651.

An old counterpain of carnation damask, laced with silver	4	0	0
Furniture for a bed of velvet and carnation damask, laced with rich lace, and fringed with gold	55	9	6
A canopy of cloth of silver	45	0	0

Several things received from some Gentlemen, and now remain in
Somerset House Closet, in Mr. Henry Brown's charge.

A garter of blew velvet set with 412 diamonds	160	0	0
A collar of SS	106	0	0
The handle of a riding rodd, weight 4½ oz. 8 dwts.	18	0	0
A silver seal, called the Dutch seal, weight 3½ oz. at 5 s.	8	0	0
Gold and silver belonging to an old cross	48	5	0
A perfuming pan	6	10	0

A true and perfect Inventory of the Goods in Denmark House,
appraised, as follows, in August 1649.

Imprimis. Five pieces of arras hangings of King David, 331 ells, at 3 l. per ell Flemish	994	10	0
P 2			Three

	£.	s.	d.
Three pieces of arras, of Sampson, 155 ells, at 2 s.	15	10	0
Six pieces, of Charles Brandon, 365 ells, at 15 s.	276	15	0
Three pieces of arras, of Vulcan and Venus, 435 ells, at 3 l. per ell	1305	0	0
Eight pieces of new arras, of King Hezekiah, 301 ells, at 30 s. per ell	452	5	0
Seven pieces of fine tapestry, of Hercules, 327 ells, at 6 s. 4 d. per ell	109	0	0
Eight pieces of tapestry, of battles, being 225 ells	59	0	0
Three pieces with figures, called the Council Chamber	6	15	0
Six pieces of purple velvet, 216 yards, at 30 s. per yard	325	2	0
Four pieces of damask, embroidered with silver, 116 yards, at 10 s. per yard	58	0	0
Seven pieces of white sattin, embroidered with gold and silver twist, 189 yards, at 10 s. per yard	108	10	0
Six pieces, of Vulcan and Venus, 205 ells, at 4 l. 10 s.	924	15	0
Six pieces, ditto, 156 ells, at ditto	546	0	0

Carpetts.

One for a cupboard, of purple velvet, with antique work, embroidered in silver	35	0	0
One of purple cloth	10	0	0
One of velvet, embroidered with roses	10	0	0
One with a silver ground, with an elephant in the middle	10	0	0
One of crimson velvet	10	0	0
Another rich of ditto, embroidered with gold	12	0	0
One crimson sattin, embroidered with gold	30	0	0
One of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and silver	40	0	0
Three Persian ditto, gold ground	20	0	0
Sold Capt. Fooch, 2 Nov. 1649, for 21 l.			
Two large Persian carpetts	80	0	0
One ditto	13	0	0
Four Turkey ditto	44	0	0
Eleven ditto	43	15	0
Two English carpetts	4	10	0
Ten small Turkey carpetts	6	10	0
Fourteen window curtains	31	0	0
Thirteen ditto, of many sorts	14	14	0
A cloth of state, of purple velvet, embroided with gold	80	0	0
Another			

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

105

£. s. d.

Another cloth of state, of crimson velvet, with A. I. R.
A. R. and I. R. in gold - - - 98 10 0
Sold Mr. Boulton for 106 l. 10 s.

A cloth of state of crimson velvet, with curtains of crimson
damask - - - 42 0 0

Cannopies.

One of crimson velvet - - - 95 0 0
One of cloth of silver - - - 56 0 0
One of crimson sattin - - - 30 0 0
One of green velvet - - - 71 10 0
One of orange-coloured cloth - - - 33 0 0
One of crimson velvet - - - 40 0 0
A round canopy to hang over a bed, with a golden crown
at top - - - 40 0 0
A canopy of cloth of silver - - - 25 0 0
Another ditto, with gold lace. - - - 31 15 0
Two China screens - - - 4 0 0

Pavillions.

One of cloth of silver, garnished with gold - - - 90 0 0
One other little round one of gold tyncell - - - 10 0 0
A high chair and three square stools of gold and silver stuffe
striped - - - 12 0 0
A low chair of crimson velvet - - - 3 10 0
A chair with wheels, of crimson velvet, embroidered - - - 4 0 0
Eighteen high stools of striped gold stuff - - - 9 0 0
Two short cushions of crimson velvet, embroidered with
gold and pearls - - - 100 0 0
Seven cushions of carnation sattin - - - 14 0 0
Two long cushions of crimson sattin, embroidered with gold - - - 6 0 0
A field bedstead apparelled with crimson velvet, em-
broidered with gold and pearls - - - 400 0 0
A bedstead with crimson cloth of gold tissue - - - 150 0 0
A field bed of sattin, branched with flowers of gold - - - 50 0 0
A purple velvet bed - - - 300 0 0
A counterpain of carnation sattin, embroidered with gold - - - 8 0 0
A cradle mantle of crimson velvet - - - 18 0 0
Nineteen wrought pillows, some with gold, and some silk - - - 19 0 0
Fourteen fustian blanketts - - - 10 0 0
A leather cradle, covered with carnation velvet - - - 1 10 0
A white sattin mantle lined with ermine - - - 43 0 0

Queen

	£.	s.	d.
Queen Ann's Parliament or Coronation Robes.			
A robe of crimson velvet bordered with ermine	20	0	0
Another of purple velvet	20	0	0
A short gown with sleeves, &c.	20	0	0
Robes of King Henry VIII.			
Two robes of white cloth of the order of St. Michael	20	0	0
A gown with sleeves of purple sattin	10	0	0
Another of uncutt velvet	2	10	0
A cloak of carnation sattin, with a Spanish cape	8	0	0
A coat, with sleeves of peach-coloured cloth	2	10	0
A high gown of crimson wrought velvet	2	0	0
Nine embroidered coats	18	0	0
Two chests containing pieces of garments	1	0	0
Sixteen borders of gold wrought upon Holland	2	0	0
Table Linen, &c.			
One sweet bag embroidered with gold	1	0	0
A cushion cloth embroidered with silk	2	10	0
Another cushion cloth embroidered	3	0	0
A diaper table cloth with a dozen of napkins	5	0	0
A waistcoat of white taffaty	2	10	0
A mantle of hair-coloured cloth	7	0	0
A rich embroidered cushion of purple velvet	5	0	0
A chest	1	5	0
A rich scarfe wrought with gold	5	0	0
A cover for bread and salt, wrought with gold	1	10	0
Another ditto	1	10	0
Another ditto	2	0	0
A cushion of cloth of callicoe, wrought with gold	15	0	0
A cushion cloth	2	10	0
Another ditto	2	10	0
A cushion cloth of Holland	1	0	0
A comb case of white sattin, with the arms of Denmark embroidered	3	0	0
An iron chest	8	0	0
Four whole pieces of tiffue, liver-coloured and silver, 61 yards, at 2l. 10s.	152	10	0
A piece of tiffue, with a purple ground, 36 yards, at 2l.	73	0	0
A piece of cloth of tiffue, 10 yards and $\frac{1}{2}$, at 1 l.	10	5	0
A whole piece of orange tawney cloth	60	0	0
A whole			

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
A whole piece of silver tiffue, 24 yards, at 30 s.	37	2	6
A whole piece of carnation sattin	12	5	0
A piece of silk camblet, 66 yards, at 30 s. per yard	99	0	0
A whole piece of ruffet sattin, flowered	28	16	0

In a Cypress Cheft.

A green velvet carpet	4	0	0
A China carpet of carnation velvet	3	0	0
A cushion cloth and 3 pillowbears of lawn	5	0	0
Another ditto	2	0	0
A smock richly wrought in gold and silver	1	10	0
A mantle of linen set with spangles	5	0	0
An embroidered handkercheife	0	10	0
A sweet bag of white sattin embroidered	5	0	0
A scarf of carnation taffaty, embroidered with pearl	30	0	0
Another of ditto, embroidered with silver	5	0	0
A cupboard cloth of carnation sattin, flowered with gold	2	0	0
A carnation and silver hartlaid lace, 106 ounces	10	12	0
The head cloth of a bed of cloth of silver	5	0	0
A counterpane of white sattin, embroidered with gold	8	0	0
A small cheft of crimson sattin	1	10	0
A small coffer of green velvet, studded with silver	50	0	0
A standish of mother of pearl	10	0	0
An eight-square ebony table	20	0	0
Another table of ebony	3	0	0

In the second Cypress Cheft.

A box of ebony	1	10	0
A green velvet table, with boxes and drawers	1	10	0
A square table of white marble on an ebony frame	10	0	0
A billiard board covered with green cloth	5	0	0
A wallnutt-tree drawing table	0	15	0

Clocks:

A clock in an ebony case	100	0	0
Another in the same, garnished with silver	40	0	0
Another in the fashion of a tortoise, all of silver	100	0	0

Looking

	<i>£. s. d.</i>
Looking Glaffes.	
A looking-glafs in brafs frame	15 10 0
A fmall looking-glafs fet with filver gilt	20 0 0
Another in an amber frame	10 0 0
Another in ruffet fattin cafe	10 0 0
Two ditto in ebony frames	36 0 0
Another ditto	40 0 0
Another in a frame of carnation velvet	15 0 0
Another in a copper frame	2 0 0
A pair of hand irons	2 0 0
A pair ditto of brafs	24 0 0
A pair of bellows inlaid with mother of pearl	0 5 0
A chryftiall galley upon four wheels, garnifhed with pearls and rubies, filver gilt	100 0 0
A fruit difh of cristial fet in white ftone	15 0 0
A pair of tables of white and yellow amber, garnifhed with filver	30 0 0
A candleftick of yellow amber, garnifhed with filver	30 0 0
Thirteen images of yellow amber	10 0 0
An artificial rock, with a crucifix of coral	10 0 0
A perfuming pott of brafs	5 0 0
A pair of chriftial candlefticks	6 0 0
A curious white ivory fann	5 0 0
A pair of virginalls, in a cafe of green velvet	10 0 0
A lute, in a black leather cafe	3 0 0
A pair of tables, enlaid wood, garnifhed with filver ftones and pearls, &c.	80 0 0
A chefs-board	2 0 0
Five brafs potts	12 10 0
Five pieces of crimfon and purple baudkins	10 0 0
A large rich French bed of fattin, richly embroidered	1000 0 0
A large chair of deliverance of crimfon velvet	5 0 0
A rail and ballafter to encompass the bed	12 0 0
A marble table inlaid, upon a gilt frame	40 0 0
A marble table inlaid, and a cabinet of the fame	60 0 0
Two black ebony cabinetts	5 0 0
Two fine ebony cabinetts ditto	60 0 0
One cabinet	25 0 0
An Indian cheft	10 0 0
Sold 16 Oct. 1649, to Mr. Afqua.	
A couch	

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
A couch and fix folding stooles of velvet and gold	25	0	0
Two pieces of hangings suitable	77	0	0
Fourteen porcelain water potts	7	0	0
Two great beakers	1	10	0
Two smaller	0	10	0
One great porcelain bason, on a foot of silver	40	0	0
A cristial candlestick	12	0	0
An ebony cabinet, with five images of solid silver	30	0	0
A pier glafs in an ebony frame with antique borders	50	0	0
Another of the same	30	0	0
Another in a wooden frame	30	0	0
An ebony cabinet garnished, on a brass frame	50	0	0
A large tortoiseshell cabinet painted	30	0	0
Two cristial branches	80	0	0
A couch of carnation velvet, trimmed with silver	50	0	0
A black ebony cabinet	25	0	0
One couch, fix folding stools, 16 long cushions of cloth of silver, and two French chairs	60	0	0
A carpet	2	5	0
Three French tables	0	18	0
A looking glafs of 41 panes	4	2	0
Two red cloth screens	5	0	0
A gilt bale for a bed of state	12	0	0
A cabinet embossed with silver, with a piece of perspective in it	40	0	0
A looking glafs with silver plate	50	0	0
A down bed and quilt	10	0	0
A fustian quilt	2	0	0
Twenty pieces of very rich hangings, but most Papish, being 293 ells $\frac{1}{2}$, at 3 l. per ell	880	10	0
A piece of tapestry of the Ascension, 57 ells, at 5 l. per ell	285	10	0
A suit of hangings of the Roman Emperors, 331 ells, at 15 s.	264	16	0
Two suits of hangings, the Five Senses, 150 ells, at 5 l.	780	0	0
Seven pieces of tapestry, given to the Queen by Sir Harry Vane, 198 ells, at 2 l. 10 s.	495	0	0
Sold Capt. Geere, 14 May, 1650.			
A bedstead with double curtains, &c. of black sattin	100	0	0
Six black chairs, with borders of silver	6	0	0
Sold Mr. Haughton, 8 Oct. 1651.			

Q

▲ win-

	£.	s.	d.
A window piece of rich tapestry with gold	16	0	0
Eight counterpains of taffaty	16	0	0
A pair of Spanish blankets	3	0	0

Goods sold and appraised in Somerfet House, the 30th Aug. 1649,
in the charge of Henry Brown.

A sparver of green velvet, with gold lace	30	0	0
A suit of crimson damask, trimmed with gold lace	53	15	0
A square crimson counterpain, tester, head cloth, &c.	54	0	0
A crimson canopy, lined with a fultane	68	0	0
A suit of hangings of cloth of gold, 150 yards	388	0	0
Seven pieces of hangings of orange-coloured cloth of gold	100	0	0
A black velvet bed, lined with yellow sattin	120	0	0
A couch and 12 stools of velvet trimmed with silver	14	0	0
A sleeping chair of red velvet	1	0	0
A green velvet table, embroidered with gold	2	10	0
An Indian trunk	10	0	0
A set of gilt leather hangings, 108 skins	15	12	0
Fifty-six books of French and Latin, being Papists	5	0	0
An inlaid bedsted	1	0	0

A true Inventory of several Goods brought from Greenwich, and now
in the Custody of Henry Brown, Wardrobe Keeper of Denmark
House, viewed and appraised the 7th Sept. 1649.

Imprimis. Five pieces of hangings of King David, 357.

ells 4, at 3 l. per ell	1072	10	0
Three counterpains of tapestry	6	0	0
A damask curtain, of ten breadths, 27 yards, at 3 s.	4	2	0
A curtain of red and green damask	5	0	0
A Turkey carpet	2	8	0
Another ditto	2	10	0
An old carpet	2	0	0
A velvet chair, and two little cushions	6	0	0
An old red velvet chair and stool, with a long cushion	3	0	0
A chair of tiffue, a foot stool	7	0	0
Three cushions of green velvet	5	0	0
A cushion of green velvet, embroidered with asses	1	10	0
A counterpain wrought with colours	3	0	0
A velvet carpet, turned hair-colour	1	0	0

One

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
One cushion, with the English arms embroidered thereon	5	0	0
A long cushion of purple velvet	2	10	0
A chair and cushion of velvet	3	0	0
A pair of bras and irons	2	0	0
Four feather bedds	20	0	0
A long table, standing upon antique treffels	1	0	0
A barge-cloth of velvet, embroidered with the English arms	30	0	0
A marble table	10	0	0

An Inventory of the Goods at Wimbledon, in the Custody of
Mr. Henry Brown, Wardrobe Keeper at Somerset House, viewed
and appraised the 7th June, 1649.

Eight pieces of new tapestry hangings, 225 ells	90	0	0
A crimson velvet bed, lined with cloth of gold	50	0	0
A Turkey carpet, and painted table	70	0	0
Three fustian cushions, and two down bolsters	11	0	0
Two limbecks	1	10	0
A pair of creepers	7	0	0
Fifteen spitts	2	10	0
A pair of rack irons	1	0	0
A great glafs	30	0	0
Two French tables	0	12	0
One great trunk	1	0	0
Twelve tapistry curtains for pictures, 32 ells	4	10	0
Two kitchen flyces	0	5	0

Sold Mr. Stone, the 8th Nov. 1649.

Two frying panns	0	5	0
Four custard panns	0	10	0
One bras cullender	0	5	0
A bras scoope	0	4	0
Four bras stew panns	1	10	0
Three pair of wafer irons	0	15	0
An iron pann, with a deep bras cover	0	5	0

Sold Mr. Baker, the 1st Feb. 1652.

Two pestiles, two rowling pinns, and two platters	0	1	6
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A true Inventory of the several Pictures now in the Custody of Mr. Henry Brown, Wardrobe Keeper at Denmark House, viewed and appraised the eighth of Sept. 1649.

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis. Two landskips, at	1	10	0
Six enamelled pieces, three of them being oval	12	0	0
Two landskips, of Percelles	2	0	0
A small green landskip	2	0	0
Mary and the Child	1	10	0
The King of France	0	10	0
A child carrying a Crofs	0	10	0
A round piece of Spanish grapes	2	10	0
A green landskip	3	0	0
A piece of Christ on the Crofs	1	0	0
The Virgin Mary, and King of France	0	10	0
Christ and a garland, upon marble	0	10	0
A drawing on parchment	0	2	6
A hermit	0	10	0
Christ praying in the Garden	0	10	0
Christ, Mary, and Joseph, on marble	1	0	0
A lady praying, with a dove	2	10	0
A flower-pott	3	0	0
Soldiers drinking, &c.	10	0	0
Mary and the Child, &c.	6	0	0
A dish of apricocks	12	0	0
Francis I. King of France, by Genet	10	0	0
Christ, Mary, and Joseph	1	0	0
The Nativity, by Julio Romano	10	0	0
Joseph, Mary, and Christ	6	0	0
A landskip, with a bridge	1	0	0
A man in armour	5	0	0
A landskip, with Jonas, &c.	0	12	0
Two sea pieces, by Fleffiére	2	0	0
A prospect of a garden	1	0	0
Four round landskips, by Brugel	10	0	0
Two ditto, in square frames	4	0	0
A drawing with a pen	2	10	0
Two men playing at chess, by Michael Corosley	35	0	0
A man with a black cap	2	10	0
A piece with many figures, by Frankino	10	0	0
	A land-		

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
A landkip	6	0	0
The Holy Family, by V. Goffy	40	0	0
Buchanan's head	2	10	0
Sold to Mr. Bucart for 3 l. 10 s. 2 Nov. 1649.			
Mary Queen of Scotts	5	0	0
A piece of writing, by Holbein	10	0	0
Pluto, by J. Romano	20	0	0
A piece, by Holbein	30	0	0
A Christ, by Leonard	30	0	0
A naked boy, by ditto	40	0	0
Christ praying in the Garden, by Carrache	40	0	0
A Holy Trinity, by Michael Angelo	30	0	0
Spanish grapes, by Labradore	5	0	0
Orpheus	0	5	0
A naked Venus, with a Satyr	1	0	0
Sold to Mr. Humphry for 2 l. 6 s. 12 Nov. 1649.			

A true Inventory of Pictures in Somerset House, which came from Whitehall and St. James's.

A St. John, by Corregio	40	0	0
An Aurora, Joseph, and Mary, by Titian	25	0	0
A picture, half-length, by Titian	15	0	0
A Lucretia, by Titian	60	0	0
A grandee of Spain	10	0	0
Diana and her Nymphs, by Sciavona	20	0	0
Christ and the Adultres, by Montagna	10	0	0
Mary and our Saviour, &c. by A. Del Sarto	200	0	0
Sold for 230 l.			
St. John and an Angel	5	0	0
Mary, Christ, and a foldier, by Titian	60	0	0
Mary and St. John, &c. by Milaneso	100	0	0
Sold for 120 l.			
A bald head, by Tintoret	15	0	0
St. John's head, by R. De Brasio	20	0	0
The Duke of Buckingham and his Lady, by Hunthorft	30	0	0
Ecce Homo	20	0	0
Mary, Christ, and Joseph, by A. Del Sarto	150	0	0
Sold for 174 l.			

A Venus,

	£.	s.	d.
A Venus, laying along with one playing on an organ, by Titian	150	0	0
Sold for 165 l.			
A ruffin, with a Rhenish wine glafs in his hands, by Ferrardo	2	10	0
Sold for 3 l.			
A naked woman riding her husband, by Dorsey	15	0	0
Europa and the Bull, by J. Romano	20	0	0
Herod's cruelty, by Bringall	3	0	0
Sold 11 Dec. 1649, for 3 l. 15 s.			
A woman and a naked boy, by Parmentius	10	0	0
A maremaid, by J. Romano	8	0	0
A Dutch woman, with two hands	4	0	0
Christ in the Garden	120	0	0
The Nativity			
Mary, Christ, and St. Mark, by Titian	150	0	0
Mary and Christ, by Vandyke	40	0	0
Mary, Christ, Joseph, and St. John	35	0	0
Diana and Acteon, by A. Sciacona	10	0	0
The Nativity, by ditto	10	0	0
A Holy family, by Girogoine	100	0	0
A Queen like a shepherdes, by Hunthorft	5	0	0
The three jewellers, by Titian	100	0	0
Noah's flood, by B. Fraco	30	0	0
Christ scourged	50	0	0
Mary, Christ, and Angels, by Darsey	40	0	0
Christ crowned with thorns, by Baffan	10	0	0
Pluto and many Devils, by Bruizino	20	0	0
Mary, Christ, and St. John	2	0	0
A shepherdes, with a straw hatt	1	10	0
Three fools playing with a catt, by Titian	10	0	0
Queen of Scotland	2	10	0
A courtizan, by Old Palma	15	0	0
Herod and St. John, by R. Bresio	25	0	0
Six Saints, by Phetty	36	0	0
The burial of Christ, a copy after Titian, by Crofs	3	0	0
A prospect, by Sochgert	2	10	0
St. Francis	1	10	0
Jupiter, in a golden seat, by J. Romano	10	0	0
Christ taken from the Crofs, by ditto	25	0	0
			Moses

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
Moses and the Burning Bush, by Bassan	10	0	0
Two pieces of King Philip's children, by A. Moor	10	0	0
A naked Venus, by Palma	15	0	0
A naked Eunuch, or Managator of Mantua	6	0	0
Mary, Christ, and Joseph, with a cock, by Persee	80	0	0
Sold for 1001.			
Mary, Christ, and two beggars, a copy after Caravagio	4	0	0
Mary and the Child in the clouds, by a Venetian	5	0	0
Ecce Homo, by Bassan	30	0	0
One of the Evangelists, by Jer. Brassanio	12	0	0
Christ bearing his Cross	1	0	0
Mary and a dead Christ	20	0	0
Sebastian, bound to a tree, by Contaryno	8	0	0
A battle of the Sabians	4	0	0
Circumcision, by Stavinio	60	0	0
The burial of Christ, a copy after Titian	6	0	0
A Venus, with Mars and Cupid, by P. Bordon	10	0	0
A woman washing, by J. Romano	8	0	0
A soldier in armour	4	0	0
A piece of Whitehall, by Argal	1	10	0
A soldier making strange postures to a Dutch lady, by Bott	6	0	0
A Dutch lady, with a ruffe	3	0	0
Judith and Holifernes, by Guido	40	0	0
A landkip	4	0	0
A pyebald horse in fresco, by Polydore	40	0	0
An old Dutch woman	1	0	0
A man with a black cap, by Penterynio	3	0	0
A piece after the manner of Bassan	10	0	0
Diana and Acteon, after Springar	6	0	0
A Nymph brought to bed of Adonis, by J. Romano	60	0	0
Mary and Christ, by Raphael	3	0	0
The same by Corregio	12	0	0
A man in black, by Tintoret	3	0	0
A dead Christ, by Bramantie	30	0	0
An Angel driving Ignorance, by Palma	10	0	0
A student sitting by the fire, by Lavens	5	0	0
Two thieves on the Cross, by P. Vago	40	0	0
A Saint, by J. Romano	10	0	0
A green landkip	2	0	0
A print	10	0	0
			In

In the Withdrawing-room.

Pictures belonging to Somerset House ; and a few to Whitehall.

	£.	s.	d.
A Madona, as big as the life - - -	25	0	0
Sold for 30 l.			
Mary and our Saviour, by Titian - - -	160	0	0
A naked woman asleep, by Jofepine - - -	20	0	0
Mary and the Child, by Titian - - -	80	0	0
A man in a hat, by Giorgoine - - -	10	0	0
Mary, the Child, and St. Sebastian, by Palma - -	120	0	0
Sold for 135 l.			
Mary weeping - - -	4	0	0
A Madona and St. Catherine - - -	30	0	0
Sold to Vincento Malo 2 Nov. 1649, for 35 l.			
A sleeping Venus, by Corregio - - -	1000	0	0
A Madona, by Raphael - - -	2000	0	0
Mary, the Child, and St. Jerome - - -	150	0	0
Mary, the Child, and St. Sebastian, by Palma - -	100	0	0
A seigneur in black, by Tintoret - - -	30	0	0
The Woman taken in Adultery, by Monfigno - -	25	0	0
Christ bearing the Cross, by Giorgoine - -	36	0	0
Sold for 45 l.			
A piece of harvest, by Bassan - - -	30	0	0
Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres, by Almano - - -	25	0	0
Venus and Adonis, a copy after Titian - - -	25	0	0
A Dutch parlour - - -	2	0	0
Another, with figures dancing - - -	2	0	0
Mary and the Child, a copy from Leonardi di Vinci	15	0	0
The beheading of St. John, by Manfreda - - -	12	0	0
Cupid looking in a glafs, by Titian - - -	25	0	0
Lucretia killing herself, by Corregio - - -	40	0	0
Sufanna and the Elders, by Gentelisco - - -	30	0	0
Christ between two Jews, by ditto - - -	30	0	0
Mary and the Child, by Ant. del Sarto - - -	40	0	0
Sold for 55 l.			
A foldier and his wench - - -	30	0	0
The King, Queen, Prince, and Princess, by Vandyke	150	0	0
The late King's three children, by Vandyke - -	60	0	0
David writing, done with a pen, by Degen - - -	5	0	0
Spinning, by Phetty - - -	10	0	0
			Mercury,

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
Mercury, teaching Cupid to read	10	0	0
A dead bird, with a pot of flowers	1	0	0
A landkip, with a windmill	1	0	0
Ananias and Sapphira, by Francken	5	0	0
Mary giving suck, by A. Vorenflo	15	0	0
Mary and the Child, St. Barbary, &c. by Peronifan	15	0	0
A prospect of Steinwick	25	0	0
A piece of water colours, by L. Van Eyden	30	0	0
The battle of Brent, by B. Franke	6	0	0
A landkip, with Greenwich Castle, by Portman	4	10	0
Mary and the Child, by Mirevelt	5	0	0
The Tower of Babylon	2	0	0
A round piece, Mary and Christ, by Lucas	1	10	0
Christ and his Disciples at the Passover	6	0	0
Venus playing on an organ, after Titian	6	0	0
Sold for 7 l.			
Mary, with many figures, by Golpity	100	0	0
Mary, Christ, and St. John, by Mitens, after Old Palma	8	0	0
A woman in a yellow gown, by A. del Sarto	25	0	0
Mary and the Child, by Morleffen	5	0	0
Ditto, by Stella	15	0	0
Sold for 17 l.			
The Samaritan woman, by Phelty	10	0	0
Mary and the Child, &c. by Lionardo da Vinci	20	0	0
Soloman and the Queen of Sheba, by Francken	6	0	0
Peter on the sea, on marble	10	0	0
Vulcan forging thunder-bolts	3	0	0
Christ bearing his Cross, after Rubens	3	0	0
Sold for 4 l.			
Five landkips	7	10	0
A pot of flowers, of needle-work	3	0	0
A Crucifix	2	0	0
Ecce Homo	1	0	0
Soloman and the Queen of Sheba, by Franken	8	0	0
An old woman gapeing	1	10	0
The Grand Venus di Pardo, by Titian	300	0	0
Sold for 600 l.			
Mary and Joseph, by Gerofolie	20	0	0
R			Mary

	£.	s.	d.
Mary and Christ, &c. on marble	10	0	0
Sold for 12 l.			
A dead Christ	2	0	0
A Venus sleeping, by J. Oliver	6	0	0
The Queen of Bohemia's children in a landskip, by Poelenburg	25	0	0
Three Kings, by Dos de Fré	20	0	0
The woman found in Adultery, by Bassano	15	0	0
Mary, Christ, and an Angel	20	0	0
Mars and Venus, by Stella	10	0	0
Mary Magdalen	6	0	0
A landskip of the Brill	30	0	0
A pot of flowers	15	0	0
Mary and Joseph asleep	20	0	0
Mary and Christ, by Lamere	3	0	0
A Magdalen	15	0	0
A naked boy	10	0	0
Mary and Christ, by Stella	8	0	0
A piece with grapes, by Labradore	10	0	0
Mary and the Child, hugging her, by Corregio	20	0	0
Mary, Christ, and St. John, by Peronfo	30	0	0
St. Catherine tortured on a wheel, by Carrache	20	0	0
Mary, Christ, and St. Catherine	20	0	0
The Circumcision, by Dorsey	30	0	0
The Husbandmen asleep, and the Devil sowing tares	2	0	0
Soldiers in pursuit of a young man	20	0	0
A Madona after Titian	5	0	0
Mary, Christ, and St. Agnes, by Gerefoly	20	0	0
An Angel with a trumpet	6	0	0
Eight flower-pots	4	0	0
The battle of Lyprick	1	0	0
A print of a triumphal arch, by Albert Durer	2	0	0
A woman in wax, by Vandert	3	0	0
Sufanna. by A. Gentilisco	20	0	0
A maiden spoiled, by Raphael	5	0	0
Another, a copy after Raphael	20	0	0
A picture of musick books, &c. by Giorgione	100	0	0
Hofea, with a trumpet, by A. Gentileschi	20	0	0
A Dutcheſs of Savoy	1	0	0
			Cupid,

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
Cupid, by Guido - - - - -	15	0	0
Lucretia, by Pordenone - - - - -	12	0	0
A man with a sword - - - - -	8	0	0
Another, by Giorgione - - - - -	30	0	0

In the Closet.

The King's three children - - - - -	10	0	0
The Duke of Savoy's child - - - - -	8	0	0
Mademoiselle, and the King's two youngest children	10	0	0
A naked Venus, by Palma - - - - -	10	0	0
A piece of mosaic-work - - - - -	1	0	0
A piece of King Henry VIII. - - - - -	10	0	0
A head of Aristotle - - - - -	10	0	0
The Queen's picture, in silk-work - - - - -	20	0	0
Six pieces enamelled - - - - -	1	0	0
The Prince's picture - - - - -	10	0	0
King Edward VI. at length - - - - -	5	0	0
The Marquis di Guasto, by Titian - - - - -	250	0	0
St. John, at length - - - - -	50	0	0
The Lord Lisle, by Vansomer - - - - -	5	0	0
A man with a book - - - - -	20	0	0
A head, by F. Salviato - - - - -	15	0	0
The Duke D'Alva - - - - -	6	0	0
A Sebastian - - - - -	6	0	0
Titian and Peter Aretin's pictures - - - - -	6	0	0
A kitchen - - - - -	3	0	0

In the Gallery.

The Gods in the clouds, by Polydore - - - - -	40	0	0
The birth of Hercules, by Julio Romano - - - - -	100	0	0
Christ raising Lazarus - - - - -	3	0	0
A piece of fruit and birds, by Snyders - - - - -	10	0	0
A sea piece - - - - -	4	0	0
Sea horses, by Julio Romano - - - - -	60	0	0

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Somerset House Pictures.

	£.	s.	d.
A boy in a long cloak	10	0	0
A French Embassador, by Vansomer	10	0	0
Two usurers, and Cupid, after Quintin	5	0	0
A Dutch banquet	6	0	0
A prospect of the Temple, by Stenwick	20	0	0
Three fishermen, by M. Angelo	40	0	0
A picture of Fortune, by J. Romano	20	0	0
A landscape by a sea shore	3	0	0
A prospect of Synick	3	0	0
A landscape	3	0	0
Titian's mistress, after the life, by Titian	100	0	0
A Saint, by A. Gentilisco	12	0	0
The Duke of Burgundy, by Droprombe	40	0	0
Sold for 43 l.			
The Dutchess of Florence	30	0	0
An Italian lady	12	0	0
A Sacrifice, by J. Romano	40	0	0
An Angel treading on a serpent	2	0	0
Moses and the Tables, by G. Bologneso	15	0	0
Judith, with Holofernes' head	10	0	0
A Dutch Prince, at length	5	0	0
A story from Ariosto, by Vandyke	80	0	0
Tom Derry, at length, by Vansomer	6	0	0
The Queen of France	10	0	0
Diana washing, by Gentilisco	60	0	0
King Charles on horseback, by Vandyke	200	0	0
Peace and Justice linked together, by Bulloign	60	0	0
Venus dressing by the three Graces, by Guido	200	0	0
The Nine Muses, by Gentilisco	70	0	0
Margarett afraid of a monster, by Titian	100	0	0
King Lewis, at length	1	0	0
A man putting on armour	30	0	0
Mary Magdalen	40	0	0
Sold for 55 l.			
The King and Queen, by Vandyke	60	0	0
A Hercules, &c.	15	0	0
The Prince of Orange, at length	10	0	0

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Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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	£.	s.	d.
Christ and the Samaritan woman	20	0	0
Christ carrying his Cross	0	10	0
The Duke of Orleans' daughter	6	0	0
Christ holding the Cross	0	10	0
Mary and the Child	1	0	0
The Dutchess of Savoy	0	19	0
King James, with a hawk on his fist	2	0	0
A great flower-pott, by Brughell	30	0	0
A child, or Spanish lady	2	0	0
A landscape	1	0	0

In the Cross Gallery.

Prince Charles in armour, by Vandyke	25	0	0
King James, a copy after Vansomer, by ditto	30	0	0
Queen Ann	30	0	0
Prince Henry, by Vandyke	30	0	0
King Charles and Queen Mary, by ditto	60	0	0
The Queen of Bohemia, by Mittens	20	0	0
Four Elements	15	0	0
Monf. Duke D'Aubin's wife	80	0	0
King of France, at length	20	0	0
The Queen-mother, by Vandyke	30	0	0
Henry the Fourth, at length, by Ferdinando	15	0	0
His child	10	0	0
Mary Queen of Scotland	10	0	0
Isabella Archdutchess of Austria and Brabant	20	0	0
The new King and Queen of Spain, at length	40	0	0
King Henry the Eighth, at length	30	0	0
Queen Elizabeth, at length	15	0	0
The King of Denmark, by Vandurt	15	0	0
Soloman's offering to the Idols, by Peedmore	150	0	0
Albertius Duke of Austria	15	0	0
Two pieces of Fame with a trumpet	30	0	0
Christ by the well and the Samaritan, by Fatinis	50	0	0
A courtezan in her hair, by Titian	15	0	0
A flower-pot	5	0	0
Mary and Martha	6	0	0

Goods

Goods valued at Somerset House.

	£.	s.	d.
A pair of iron racks	1	0	0
A rowling stone	0	10	0
Eighteen marble stones, containing 133 foot	40	0	0
Two plumes of feathers	12	0	0
A long plume of feathers	16	0	0
An unicorn horn	500	0	0

From Mr. Vaux's.

Ten marble stones	69	17	6
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At Mr. Hunt's.

Six pieces of St. Paul	28	16	0
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In the Jewel House.

A great iron chest	20	0	0
Another ditto	4	0	0
Three standards	2	0	0
Plate that came from Mr. Jolly's	25	9	0
Plate that came from Mr. Sparke's	66	10	6

Statues at Somerset House.

A Jewish Queen	80	0	0
An Emperor	10	0	0
A little man without a head	1	0	0
Marcus Aurelius	50	0	0
Caligula	50	0	0
Commodus	50	0	0
A woman in her hair	80	0	0
Titus	50	0	0
Fauftina	70	0	0
Marcus Cato	70	0	0
Claudius	60	0	0
Julia Mema	80	0	0

A

Pictures, &c. at SOMERSET House.

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						£.	s.	d.
A young Trojan	-	-	-	-	-	80	0	0
An Emperor's head	-	-	-	-	-	50	0	0
Young Marcus	-	-	-	-	-	50	0	0
Young Commodus	-	-	-	-	-	150	0	0
The wife of Galba	-	-	-	-	-	80	0	0
Hippocrates	-	-	-	-	-	30	0	0
Demetrius	-	-	-	-	-	25	0	0
A Laocoon	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
An Emperor's head	-	-	-	-	-	40	0	0
A young Marcus Aurelius	-	-	-	-	-	50	0	0
A Satyr	-	-	-	-	-	20	0	0
Another	-	-	-	-	-	3	0	0
A small statue	-	-	-	-	-	3	0	0
Cicero's head	-	-	-	-	-	25	0	0
A Roman head	-	-	-	-	-	25	0	0
Another ditto	-	-	-	-	-	30	0	0
A body	-	-	-	-	-	3	0	0
A boy, with a loose head	-	-	-	-	-	5	0	0

Statues in Somerfet House Garden.

A pedestal of Portland stone	-	-	-	-	-	2	10	0
A statue without a head	-	-	-	-	-	50	0	0
Another ditto	-	-	-	-	-	50	0	0
Augustus Cæsar	-	-	-	-	-	200	0	0
Hercules	-	-	-	-	-	15	0	0
Mercury, in brass	-	-	-	-	-	500	0	0
A crown of gilded lead	-	-	-	-	-	0	5	0



ADDENDUM.

Longleate, Collins says, was built by Sir JOHN THYNNE, who had been Secretary and Steward of the Household (*Seneschallus Hospitii*) to the Duke of Somerset, as it is expressed on his monument. This was not a mean office for a Knight at that time. The family had been enriched principally from grants of lands of the dissolved monasteries, and particularly that of Glastonbury, by King Henry VIII. which occasioned this provincial saying in Somersetshire :

“ Horner, Popham, Wyndham, and Thynne;
When the Abbot went out, then they came in *.”

It is possible that Sir John Thynne might obtain grants of some of the lands in Wiltshire which had belonged to his unfortunate master, on which he built the splendid mansion of which he was the founder. The house is said to have been erected on the model of SOMERSET HOUSE.

The books of the building of Longleate are at this time remaining there, which shew that the foundation began to be laid in January 1567, from which time the building was carried on to 1579, so that twelve whole years were spent before it was finished. This is said to be the first well-built house in the kingdom. The front is 220 feet, and the sides upwards of 180, and very noble cellars the length of the front of the house. The stone and timber were all his own; and besides carriage, and days of gift, it cost 8,016l. 13s. 8d. as it appears from three old folio books of the building of Longleate †.

* Grose's Local Proverbs.

† Collins's Peerage, vol. VI. p. 54.

END OF PART IV.

[1]

C U R I A L I A :

PART V.

A DISSERTATION

ON

THE ANCIENT ESTABLISHMENT AND FUNCTIONS

OF THE

SERJEANTS AT ARMS.

TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER, &c. &c. &c.
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON.

MY LORD,

ETYMOLOGISTS are greatly divided in opinion with regard to the derivation of the appellative term SERJEANT; and it certainly appears in very "questionable shapes." Let us take four persons of this generical denomination; and after observing their motley appearance, and different official nature, who would be hardy enough to give them credit for any even the remotest affinity? Can any persons with the

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fame

same professional name suggest four more distinct and incongruous ideas than—A Serjeant at Law—A Serjeant at Arms—A Serjeant Trumpeter—and A Regimental Serjeant?—And yet it is not, I think, improbable that they may be descended from one common ancestor.

Etymology has been called *Scientia ad libitum*; and that privilege has been pretty freely exercised in the present case. Most writers favour *Serviens* as the radix of *Serjeant**; another patronizes *Servans*; a third *Securians*†; and a fourth is extravagant enough to suppose Serjeant to be a corruption of *Cæsarian*, a term formed from *Cæsarianus*, an old word for a Liſtor.

There are still others, according to Du Fresne, who would derive it from the compound word of their own coinage, *Serre-Gens*, which at best would merely confine it in a derogatory sense to the purpose of apprehending malefactors, which will be found to be a secondary idea. The best interpreters adhere to *Serviens*, as the fundamental; from whence, transposing the *V* into the *G*, the French have formed their word *Sergent*, which we have adopted: but, though this may possibly prove the successful candidate, yet it must not pass without a scrutiny.

Mr. Selden is clearly of opinion, from a passage in Bracton: and other authorities, that the ancient term for the intermediate rank between a Knight and a Gentleman was generally speaking *Serviens*; of which he gives several instances, and adds that the French word *Sergent* is frequently used in the same sense in the Year-Books of the reign of king Edward III.

Mr. Camden assigns a reason for such appellation; that those

those who held not lands by military tenure were called *Solidarii* and *Servientes*, because they were stipendiaries; the former term having a reference to the pay, which was one shilling *per diem*, and the latter to their acting on pecuniary and not on territorial considerations. These troops, as we should now call them, were paid in various manners, one of which was by a tallage levied on cities and boroughs: thus in the tenth year of king Richard I. a tallage was made upon three towns in Lincolnshire, for the retainure and subsistence of Serjeants in the King's service. Mr. Selden further observes, that about the time of king Richard II. the term *Serviens* (or Serjeant) grew out of use, and that of *Armiger* (or Esquire) prevailed in its place. In conformity with this idea, I find that by Statute, in the 46th year of king Edward III. [Chap. 16.] "The King willeth that Knights and Serjeants of the best esteem of the County be hereafter returned Knights [of the Shire] in the Parliament." But, in confirmation of what Mr. Selden has said, the Statute of the first year of king Henry V. respecting returns to Parliament styles them Knights, or such Esquires as were able to be made Knights; from whence it is evident that these terms express an equilateral rank at the different periods in which they are used. Mr. Selden also admits to have seen occasional distinctions, which might very well subsist together, and will operate in favour of what I am going to offer, and bring us nearer home.

The *Armigeri* and *Scutiferi* went anciently under one common term of Esquires of the body, and had (as we have seen in a former Dissertation*) functions different from each other, and dif-

* See part I. p. 9.

ferent from other *Servientes*, and might possibly be chosen out of the whole corps of Serjeants to bear the offensive and defensive arms of the King, when, instead of the general name of *Servientes*, they took the functional title of *Armigeri*, or *Scutiferi*, according to their respective offices. These might be a different species of the same genus; and, as Mr. Selden observes, might exist at the same time; for, though we meet with *Servientes ad Arma* at that period, yet I never have observed that those of the body were ever stiled *Servientes ad Corpus*, but always *Armigeri*, long before the term *Armiger* generally obtained. While some of the *Servientes* were selected to be *ad Corpus*, might not others be appropriated as a Body-guard in times of peace (I speak with deference) under the old appellation of *Servientes ad Arma*?

The two former titles of *Armigiri* and *Scutiferi* had a reference to, and were descriptive of, their offices; and so had the third, when compared with others of the same generical nature, though specifically different; for, at the same time that some Serjeants (as we will from henceforth call them) were appropriated to the offices of *Armigeri* and *Scutiferi ad Corpus*, and some to be *ad Arma*, others might be appointed to honourable offices of the household; for Serjeant, or *Serviens ad Arma*, bears the complexion of a bold differential term from other Serjeants. To support this, I find that there was great occasion formerly for distinction among the various Serjeants concerned in the King's domestic employments, whether in the state line, or in the œconomical branches; for, besides the Serjeants at Arms, appointed first for the security and afterwards for the state of the King, there was scarce an arrangement

ment of officers, even in the culinary line, that had not a Serjeant at the head of it.

We have at this day the Serjeant Surgeon—the Serjeant Porter—the Serjeant of the Vestry—the Serjeant Trumpeter—and some others:—but there were anciently many more of that denomination. The master of the Buck-hounds had the title of Serjeant so lately as the reign of king William III; and there was at the same time a Serjeant of the Hawks. In the œconomical branches of household in the reign of queen Elizabeth and king James I. this official name is to be found in the Larder, Pastry, Bake-house, Acatery, Poultry, Chaundry (*i. e.* Chandlery), Wood-yard, and even in the Scullery. All these so lately as till towards the close of the last century were styled, both in address and, in writing, Mr. Serjeant *A*, Mr. Serjeant *B*, &c. like the Serjeants at Law.

The arrangement of officers in the old establishment of the Household was the Serjeant—the Gentleman—the Yeoman—the Groom, and the Page:—and where the head of an office is now styled the Gentleman, there appears to have been formerly a superior with the title of Serjeant. Thus we now have the Gentlemen of the Ewry, the Pantry, the Cellar, the Buttery, and some others, at the head of their respective offices; but in the Household establishment of queen Elizabeth I find respectively Serjeants of the Ewry, of the Pantry, Cellar, and Buttery.

The decapitation of these offices, as I may call it, must be attributed to retrenchments at different periods, which I cannot ascertain; but it was not the first blow they had received; for Mr. Selden makes the still more ancient official establishments

ments to consist of *Milites*—*Armigeri* (equivalent with the old *Servientes*)—*Valetti*— and —*Garciones*. The *Milites* were probably taken away for the same reason which afterwards removed the *Armigeri* or Serjeants, in whose place the Gentleman seems to have succeeded; for by *Valettus* in this line is meant the Yeoman, and by *Garcio* either the Groom or Page: so that, if Mr. Selden be well informed, the Gentleman had not a place in the older arrangement. All these changes must be imputed to the œconomy of the moment. The order of the Body of Harbingers is particular; for it consisted, till the year 1792, of the Knight Harbinger—the Gentleman Harbinger—and the Yeomen Harbingers. Here the Knight remains, and the Gentleman is the next in subordination; and yet I cannot help imagining that there was formerly a Serjeant-Harbinger between the Knight and the Gentleman, from the antiquity of the body, though that never has appeared as far as I have been able to discern.

It is observable, and singularly so, that though in the department of the Stables there is the Serjeant Farrier and the Serjeant of the Carriages, yet the principal Sadler is termed the Esquire Sadler and not the Serjeant Sadler. To account for this unique, it may be said, that there were anciently officers in the Royal Stables (after the model of the French "*Ecuyers*") under the general unappropriated name of Esquires. One of these might be appointed to the charge, if not the purveyance, of the saddles and furniture, and particularly to such as were for the King's use, though now the office has fallen into the hands of the actual mechanick.

Some of those who bear the official name of Serjeants in the
Household

Houſhold are at this day aſſimilated to the Serjeants at Arms by manual badges of office, which they bear when on ſtrict duty. The Serjeant Porter has an overhand ſtaff—the Serjeant of the Veſtry a Virge of red or ſilver gilt—and the Serjeant Trumpeter comes ſtill nearer; for in proceſſion he bears a Mace, and wears a collar; of which in general more hereafter.

The reſt of the Houſhold Serjeants, if they ever had any ſimilar inſignia, have diſcontinued them; and ceremonials are not preſerved ſufficiently at large to go into ſuch minutiae. The bearings of the above three Serjeants will appear from Sandford's Coronation of king James II. The Serjeants however of every denomination, in the King's ſervice, are Eſquires by their offices; and formerly wore collars of the King's gift, as Enſigns of the Rank into which they were created by that badge put on them by the King himſelf as an inveſtiture of office.

Thus much, my Lord, I have ventured to throw out with reſpect to Serjeants, as far as the office relates to the Royal Houſhold; but I have others of the ſame appellation, of different and very oppoſite natures and functions, to account for; viz. A Serjeant at Law, and a Serjeant in the Army. This, I confeſs, is tender ground, and I tread very cautiously upon it.

With reſpect to the Serjeants at Law, I would obſerve that there is a conformity of phraſe in the Engliſh and the Latin regarding their office, which indicates their original affinity with the Serjeants at Arms; theſe, of whom we are now ſpeaking, being *ad Legem*, and the others *ad Arma*; *Anglicè*, at Law and at Arms. To prove this affinity, I have to ob-
ſerve

serve that anciently the Judges, or *Justiciarii*, who were the dispensers of the Law, were considered as Knights, or at least as Knights Peers. Matthew Paris mentions both *Milites Literati* and *Milites Justitiæ*, as the great Arbitrators of the Law; and in another place of others generally, whom he styles *Militibus Æquipollentes*; and Mons. Pasquier, on the authority of Froissart, speaks of *Chevaliers des Loix*. Dr. Robertson, who led me to this observation, makes the following remark upon it, which is very much to the point: "As soon as the science of Law became a laborious study, and the practice of it a separate profession, such as rose to eminence in it obtained honours formerly appropriated to Soldiers. Knighthood was the most illustrious mark of distinction during several ages, and conferred privileges to which rank or birth alone were not entitled. To this high dignity persons eminent for their knowledge of Law were advanced, and by that were placed on a level with those whom their military talents had rendered conspicuous; and *Miles Justitiæ* and *Miles Literatus* became common titles." From hence this penetrating writer observes, that, when a Lawyer obtained the office of a Judge, that alone gave him a right to be considered of a rank equivalent to Knighthood.

If the Judges, or Heads of the Law, were considered as Knights, though not actually so, the next in professional order will be the *Servientes*; and Matthew Paris likewise mentions an *Armiger Literatus**, by which I should understand he means a Serjeant at Law, especially as little learning at that time rested with any but the Churchmen and the professors of the Law. The term *Serviens*, in military life, obtained (as we

* Temp. Hen. III.

have

have seen on Mr. Selden's authority) till about the reign of king Richard II. next in subordination to the order of Knighthood, when, though it was changed in that line, it might still subsist in Civil branches to this day, and perhaps may not be entirely lost in the Military. From what has been said upon the strength of Dr. Robinson's observation, I think we may very easily find a place for the *Servientes ad Legem* collaterally with the original *Servientes* in the Field, as being a secondary order, which looked up to the Bench, or rank of the *Milites Justitiæ*, as the pinnacle of professional honour. To enforce this idea, it is known to every one that the Judges, the *Milites Justitiæ*, are at this day made out of the order of Serjeants; which rank has ever been a *sine quâ non*, as much as it was formerly necessary that a man, in the language of Chivalry, should be an Esquire before he could be made a Knight. In conformity with this old arrangement, perhaps, it is that Judges have the honour of Knighthood usually conferred upon them *ex gratiâ* without solicitation; from whence the degree of Knighthood has gradually crept into several other respectable offices in civil life. Another circumstance is observable, that Serjeants at Law, as deeming themselves of a superior order, drop the addition of Esquire, and leave it to inferior Barristers; but the truth is, it would be tautological to use both, when Serjeant and Esquire have appeared to be synonymous terms.

But we may go a little farther; for Guilielmus Tyrius says, there were in the antient orders of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Knights Templars, not only *Equites*, but *Servientes Fratres*. Tyrius's expression is, speaking of

the Knights Templars, “ tam Equites, quam eorum Fratres, qui dicuntur Servientes.”

Upon the abolition of these Orders, the Lawyers, who succeeded to their Inns, might naturally enough adopt their terms of superiority and subordination ; from whence might come the *Equites Literati*, and the *Servientes ad Legem* ; and particularly from the *Servientes Fratres* the appellation seems to have still continued among the learned brethren of the Coif, conformably with the expression of Guilielmus Tyrius : and farther, the words *eorum Fratres* give a reason why the brotherhood is not interrupted when a Serjeant arises to the superior station of a Judge, *Brother* being the known appellation when a Judge speaks to or of a Serjeant in Court to this day.

The Serjeants of the Long Robe will doubtless plead their Coifs as professional badges of distinction peculiar to themselves. This argument will however probably only serve to bring the Serjeants at Law still nearer to the Household Serjeants, as what I am going to produce strongly evinces that they were generically the same, though professionally different ; for what shall be said if it should appear that the Serjeants of the Household of every denomination were on certain solemn occasions bound to wear the Coif as an official distinction ?

The reason given for the use of the Coif by a late writer is, that “ most of the Serjeants and Pleaders were Clerks, or religious men, who, being bound by their order to shave their heads, were, for decency and comeliness, allowed to cover their bald pates with a Coif, which has ever since been retained.

And

And such William de Bussey was commonly supposed to be, who was, ' Seneschallus et Principalis Conciliarius Guilielmi de Valenciâ' ; and who, being accused of great crimes, and not being able to acquit himself, loosened his Coif, *ut palam monstraret se tonsuram habere clericalem*, though that, it seems, did not serve his turn." To this account Sir Henry Spelman inclines, though it amounts to no proof at all ; for it is not clear that Serjeants of any kind were ever Ecclesiastics, excepting perhaps the Serjeant of the Vestry, and others peculiarly appointed to functions of the Church. Our Chancellors, it is true, were for the greatest part Churchmen till the reign of Henry VIII ; and the lower officers of the Courts of Judicature we know were filled with inferior Ecclesiastics ; for few but Churchmen at that time could read, which accounts for so many remaining under the denomination of Clerks in every Lay Court of Judicature.

The case of William de Bussey seems in fact to have been merely this, that, in order to mitigate the punishment, he uncovered his head, to shew the clerical tonsure, claiming thereby the benefit of Clergy : but his crimes, whatever they were, seem to have entitled him even to that privilege.

But, admitting those Serjeants, who were employed in the King's Judicial Courts, to have been Churchmen, yet their sole claim to the Coif does not appear to rest upon their Ecclesiastical function ; for we can discern, as has been intimated, that all Serjeants, those of Household as well as those in the line of Law, were bound, as a badge of official rank, to wear Coifs on festival days. Nay farther, it is evident that this badge was not worn for the purpose of concealing baldness,

either natural or artificial, because the Coif was worn antiently not upon the head, but upon the Hood which covered the head.

This Hood was formerly on solemn occasions a very essential part of the Court dress, as may appear from various authorities. Thus at the coronation of queen Anne [Bulleyne] “divers officers of the King’s house, being no lords, had Circotes and Hoods of scarlet edged with miniver, as the Treasurer, Comptroller, and Master of the Jewel-house.” Again; when the ceremony of the day was finished, the Hood, being hot and cumbrous, was thrown off from the head and neck, and became pendent on the back of the party; for Hall says, speaking of the above coronation, that, after the ceremonial was performed, the Lords, Judges, Mayor, and Aldermen, “take their Hoddes from their necks [or rather heads] and cast them about their shoulders.” Nay more, the Hoods worn by the several Graduates in both our Universities are exactly the hood of which we have been speaking, thrown negligently behind on the back, after having been supposed to have been worn upon the head. The present manner of wearing them shews nothing of their real shape; but, on expansion of any of them, you will find the truth of what I have asserted. A miniature of this Hood is still to be found appendant to the gown on the right shoulder of the Serjeant, and the left of the Barrister at Law, though the latter is not entitled to the Coif, that being a very antient badge peculiar only to Serjeants of every denomination, and of all ranks above them, though never to any degree below them.

The Hood has now very long been discontinued to be worn on the head; and the Coif would have sunk likewise, had

it

it not been confined to the line of more modern Serjeanty, as a relique of the more ancient. The most pure resemblance of the old Coif, now so much like a woman's mob, I apprehend, is preserved in that made use of on the call of a Serjeant at Law. The present Coif is externally black, though it is in fact a covering of that colour laid upon an inner tegumen of white, whose edges, upon a near view, are discernible; which last I conceive to be the real diminutive of the large and original Coif of white silk, which will appear to have been part of the dress of the Serjeants in the Household on high and solemn occasions.

- This change might perhaps arise with the Peruke; which being for the most part of a light-grey colour, as belonging to men supposed to be advanced in years, the Coif thenceforward might be externally converted to black that it might appear more conspicuously, and become more denotative of the rank it was intended to indicate.

As to the Coif being an appendage to the Hood, which I have advanced hitherto rather as an unsupported fact; I rest my proof upon the following Ordinances of Household, made so lately (comparatively speaking) as the reign of king Edward IV. wherein it is said, "all Serjeants of this Court [*i. e.* in the King's Household] are specially to wear their ray Hoods furred with lamb [skin], and a Coif of silk white, at the four feasts of the year." I use the word *lately*, though speaking of the 15th Century, because I trace these Serjeants, who are hereby called upon to wear their Hoods and Coifs, much higher, and discern them long before (by Sir William Dugdale's account) there were any Serjeants at Law. The first time we meet with the King's Serjeants at Law, according to Dugdale, is in the 3d year of king Edward I. whereas we read of

Serjeants

jeants in Household in the reign of king Henry I. their elder brethren by a century and an half: for in the time of king Richard I. John Brompton, speaking of the affair at Messina, says, that five Knights and twenty Serjeants of the Household were slain [*“ de familiâ regis quinque Milites et viginti Servientes occisi sunt”*]. Out of these Serjeants of the Household, such of them who were men of parts, education, and learning, might be very well appropriated to the King's service in his Courts of Justice, then held within the Palace, before the Itinerant Justices were appointed for the ease of the subject.

Now, my Lord, Sir Edward Coke says, the Court of Common Pleas arose in the reign of King Henry I.; and, as we have seen that there were Serjeants of almost every denomination in the Household in that reign, may we not be at liberty to suppose that King Henry I. who was surnamed *Beauclerk* on account of his learning, might, as an encourager of learned men, bring forward some of his Serjeants of abilities (who, *regis ad exemplum*, had applied to letters) into his Courts of Law, to protect his rights? We have observed that antiently there were no Serjeants at Law but such as were peculiar to the King, who had salaries for defending the King's droits, and prosecuting his claims [*“ pro expensis circa negotia Regis defendenda et prosequenda”*]. Thus in the third year of king Edward I. the *Servientes regis* had pensions assigned them out of the Exchequer, which we find in the reign of king Edward III. was twenty pounds *per annum*.

It appears from Sir William Dugdale's *Chronica Series* that there were at those periods no Serjeants at Law open as advocates

advocates for the suitors; for none but *Servientes ad Legem* are to be found till the reign of Richard II. when we meet with Serjeants on the part of the subject. The face of things was then reversed, and those Serjeants appropriated to the King seem to have been chosen out of the aggregate body; and accordingly in the reign of Henry VI. Thomas Lyttleton Serjeant at Law [*Serviens ad Legem*] was constituted King's Serjeant [*Serviens Regis ad Legem*] by writ. Thus much I venture to offer, though perhaps with too much boldness, respecting the Serjeants of the Long Robe, submitting myself to the opinion of those who are better informed; and proceed to the remaining branch of Serjeanty proposed for consideration.

After the primary idea of a Serjeant at Arms was forgotten, and they became merely ministering agents to Kings and Corporate Bodies, the term seems to have been applied to executive persons in the Military line. If this can be supported, the Regimental Serjeant is descended from the same stock with the rest, and I think may be placed in a light which will assimilate him very much with other Serjeants of every denomination. I ought indeed first to crave forgiveness of the learned gentlemen of the Coif: but I hope to put them into better company before I leave the Military line. A Serjeant, regimentally speaking, is a Warrant officer below a Commissioned officer, and a candidate for an Ensigncy, after having perfected himself in the knowledge of duty and discipline; and here it may be observed that formerly, and even so lately as the last century, the Major of a regiment was styled the Serjeant Major, though that term at present means only the first

first or senior halberdier, with some little enlargement in his pay. Lord Clarendon and Mr. Rushworth both give the Majors that seemingly derogatory title; however, it holds good with the same idea; for the Major Serjeant is an expectant for the command of the regiment, after having passed through the more servile branch of exercising the whole corps, in the greater line of business, opposite to that of the minor Serjeant. I consider the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel regimentally as one person; and the latter as a modern introduction, calculated to relieve his superior, or to supply his place where the Colonel is a General Officer, employed, or supposed to be employed, in a greater command. The same subordinate proportion is to be seen in the different ranks of General Officers; where you have the General—the Lieutenant General—and the Major General; and, what is more, the last was formerly called the Serjeant Major General. These terms are unquestionably borrowed by us from the Spaniards, who have their *Sarjento Mayor*, our Major; and the *Sarjento Mayor de Batalla*, our Major General. That this may not appear chimerical, I shall cite a passage out of a MS Treatise in the British Museum on the Office of a Serjeant Major. This writer says, that in the Spanish the word *Serjeant* originally imported a minister, or agent, whose business it was to execute laws, orders, and edicts, as it did latterly with us, and in part still does in the case of the Serjeants at Arms; and from the Civil, says he, it was applied to the Military line, by appointing to every company of men an officer called a Serjeant (in imitation of the Roman Tribunes) above all other Serjeants of that regiment. The writer might have added

that the Romans had their *Tribuni Seniores* and *Tribuni Juniores*. Then," continues he, "as the other Serjeants receive orders from their Captains, so doth the Serjeant Major receive from the General, Colonel, or Master of the Camp; and from them he giveth orders to the other Serjeants and Officers of the Regiment."

Thus I would infer, that the office of Serjeants in the Royal Household, some of which remain at this day, is the radix from whence the Serjeants of every subsequent and peculiar denomination have originated.

Whether I have succeeded in this investigation I submit to your Lordship, and the learned Society over which you preside; wishing to put myself under the correction of those who will take the trouble of bestowing it upon me; and shall now proceed to develope, as far as I can, the official history of that body of Gentlemen in the Royal establishment called Serjeants at Arms, who have led me into the above dark research; and take a retrospective view of their original intention, employment, and of such other circumstances relating to them, as the documents within my reach will afford.

It is but natural to suppose, in the early formation of society in Europe, after the incursions of the Northern nations by which the order and police of former ages were overthrown, that those persons who were at length advanced to Regal power should have great regard to their personal safety, and entrench themselves within a Body-Guard. The barbarous and lawless fury of the people in those times were a sufficient warranty for such an escort on the one hand, as were state and dignity on the other. Edwin king of Northumberland, in the seventh century, had a standard, composed of feathers of various colours, in the form of a globe, and fixed to the top of a pole, carried before him by his guards, both in peace and in war*. To the immediate protection of these, who were posted about his palace, that King owed the preservation of his life from the attempt of a ruffian, A. D. 626†. Canute the Dane, some centuries afterwards, never appeared in publick without a retinue of three thousand men, well mounted, and completely armed. These, being constantly retained on the King's Household-establishment, were called

* Dr. Henry's History of Britain, vol. II. 569.

† Strutt's Chronicle, vol. I. 133.

his

his *House Carles*, in quality not unlike our Yeomen of the guard*. In the history of the Sister-Kingdom of Ireland we may observe these necessary establishments much earlier, which were calculated both for the state and safety of their Sovereigns; for Cormac, who reigned in the third century, had a retinue of one hundred and fifty persons specially to attend his person, besides upwards of a thousand guards about his Palace†. What originated in those times from self-defence is now (thanks to Heaven!) a part of the King's state, rather than his security. In those unenlightened ages, when Chivalry governed the mind of every gentleman, and carried with it all social distinction, before Letters had recovered their influence, and there were no softer arts to attract the attention of mankind, military prowess was the sole object; and he that possessed it, in conjunction with judgment and artifice, became a King, till hereditary succession threw Royalty into a different channel. But, whether the King was seated upon the throne by the common voice, or derived his pre-eminence from birth, a Body-guard, in ruder times, was necessary to protect his person from the designs of his disaffected people, and insidious attacks: and I think there can be no doubt but that all our Kings, from the earliest periods, have been secretly encompassed day and night by a personal guard, though under no peculiar title or establishment. A Body-guard is traceable in the French history as far back as the reign of Gontran the grandson of Clovis, A. D. 561‡. It can hardly be supposed that William the Conqueror, after he was fully posses-

* *Carle*, from the Anglo Saxon *Ceorle*, a Clown. [See Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Hen. II. vol. III. 368. 8vo.]

† Keating's History of Ireland, p. 253. fol.

‡ P. Daniel, de la Milice Française, II. 66.

sed of the crown, slept without a competent and confidential guard about him, especially as he was a stranger in England, and jealously observed, if not abhorred, by the natives. Other Kings, his successors, had equal want of such protection, arising from various causes of discontent and murmurs on the part of the subject, although we hear of no regular institution of any express personal guard, civil or military, since the Conquest, previous to that on which we are going to dilate, called, *The Serjeants at Arms*.

I shall not, at present, trouble your Lordship and the Society with the discordant opinions of the glossographers concerning the etymon; and will therefore proceed to the history of this corps, once high and respectable in its nature and functions, though now so inconsiderable; and begin with what is discernible as to its origin and institution. It may, however, be necessary to remark, that, in the distribution of antient military subordination, the *Serviens* (*Gallicè Sergens*, and *Anglicè Serjeants*) were those troops of a rank next below the knights, and who entered the field either as feudal tenants on territorial considerations, or as candidates for knighthood at a proper age, and under proper circumstances; fully distinguished from those extemporaneous bodies of the multitude who were stipendiaries, and served for momentary pay.

I have more than once suggested, and as often found it true, that our Regal establishments, whether Civil or Military, have been borrowed in some degree from the French model; and this, among the rest, seems to confirm the observation. At what precise period the Kings of England first adopted the officers now before us may be very difficult to ascertain; but we have traces of them in the French history much earlier than any which the writers of the annals of England afford.

The

The institution in France is thus stated by their own authors, who have in general been more attentive to the origin of public institutions, as well as to solemnities and ceremonials of every kind, than our own.

When Philip II. of France, surnamed the August (who reigned from the year 1180 to the year 1223, and a contemporary with our king Richard I.) was in the Holy Land, he received private information that his life was in danger from the designs of an Asiatic chief called the Old Man of the Mountain, who had under his command certain persons ready to execute his most sanguinary orders on those whom his interest rendered obnoxious. Philip, therefore, to protect himself from any such insidious attempts, erected a Body-guard, consisting of a considerable and chosen number of his young nobles and gentry, who had it in charge to watch day and night about his person, peculiarly armed with maces, an offensive weapon of those times. These officers were called Serjeants at Mace [*Sergens à Maces*], and Serjeants at Arms [*Sergens d'Armes*]; and were at first very numerous, amounting to one hundred and fifty or two hundred. These were selected out of that part of the army of the rank of the *Servientes* before mentioned. Pere Daniel farther tells us, that the French Serjeants were also armed with the bow and arrows; but he should rather have said, that, being chosen out of a main body of gentlemen originally archers, the mace was added to their ordinary arms. From hence, however, he infers, that they had their name of *Sergens d'Armes* emphatically, as being more fully and completely armed than others of the same degree who were not so immediately appointed to the defence of the King's person.

The

The Serjeants, thus appropriated, had particular privileges annexed to their posts; as, that they should be amenable to no judicial power but that of the King and the Constable of France; and farther, that they should possess their employments during life, notwithstanding the demise of the Crown, contrary to the nature of other appointments in the Royal suite, all which, of course, terminated with the King's life.

It must not be omitted, that, to the honour of the French Serjeants of Arms, they occasioned the foundation of the church of St. Catharine du Val des Ecoliers, at Paris, by the pious Louis IX. or St. Louis, in memory of a victory gained by Philip the institutor at the bridge of Bouvines A. D. 1214; where the Serjeants, who took an active part, previously made a vow to build a church to St. Catharine if they succeeded. Of this church St. Louis, at the request of the Serjeants, laid the first stone; and from hence we may collect that they were primarily gentlemen of ample property. I have mentioned this foundation for the sake of observing, that at the entrance of this church are two *Basso Relievos* representing four Serjeants, which may lead to the appearance they made both in the Court and in the Field. In the first compartment are two Serjeants in the domestic habits of office in the Court, dressed in mantles with long sleeves, and bearing their maces, simply denotative of their office. In the second compartment are two other Serjeants in their military character, armed *Cap-a-pie*, as if on field duty. Thus their functional dress varied with the situation of the King. In process of time, the Serjeants were considerably lessened in point of number, being reduced to one hundred by
Philippe

Philippe VI. (of Valois), who ascended the French throne 1328, and died 1351; and were afterwards confined to six only, during the regency of Charles V. when his father John II. was a prisoner in England in the reign of our king Edward III. and never afterwards rose to any degree of splendour or consequence.

Though the Serjeants were at first all on duty at one time, yet, like all other bodies of gentlemen in the Court, they soon obtained permission to attend by brigades, and to wait quarterly, as was the case in the century following their institution, on the accession of Philip le Bel A. D. 1285, when thirty only were even permitted to appear officially in the court; the rest (whatever the number was) being at large till their time of attendance returned.

Thus far, my Lord, the essential part of the French account goes, as left us by Pere Daniel in his *Histoire de la Milice Française*. And we are now to trace the establishment in our own Household, where one may conjecture that it was nearly co-eval with the French institution, when we consider that Philip the August and Richard the First of England were both engaged in Palestine at the same period, and were even jealous of each other; for, by the suggestions of the emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain, Philip was made to believe that Richard was the projector of the meditated attempt on his life. It was enough, however, that each knew himself to be in danger from the machinations of the Old Man, who was ready to become hostile to either of the parties, if properly rewarded by the other. Necessity and personal safety might, or might not, at the same moment, instigate our Richard to adopt a similar guard: but, even if the institution among us was
long

long posterior to that in France, there is no cause to wonder that one King should adopt the fashions and customs practised by another, especially in those times, when our Sovereigns visited the Continent so often, and had so many opportunities of observing foreign manners; and when personal intercourse were so frequent, that imitation (were it but merely out of compliment) might become the natural result.

The preceding observations are sufficient to lead us to the ground-plan of the institution before us; which, when we trace it clearly into our own establishment, will enable us to follow it progressively to the present time, though the subject itself, I must confess, promises but a very dull detail.

The Serjeants at Arms, at what time soever they arose in our Court, were unquestionably the most ancient, and for some centuries the only apparent, Body-guard of our Sovereigns since the Conquest; and when their number was considerably upwards of thirty (as it once was) all armed *Cap-à-pie*, they formed no inconsiderable escort.

The French Serjeants sunk to nothing in the fourteenth century; but with us they have survived, though at unequal numbers, and operated very soon in a double capacity; primarily in the close defence of the Royal Person from immediate and insidious assaults; and secondarily, in attaching obnoxious and suspected persons at a distance in the King's name; a power too unwieldy for the Serjeants to manage long without abuse, as will soon appear.

I have no distinct view of them in England earlier than the time of our King Edward I. towards the close of the 13th century, though they are mentioned in that reign as established Officers of Household, who had two marks (£1. 6s. 8d. for

for winter, and the same for summer robes, when common Esquires of Household had only twenty shillings for each season *. There is, however, no specification of the number of the Serjeants or their salaries at this period.

In the following reign of king Edward II. I find, from the same authority, that they had twelve pence *per diem* when they appeared in the field on horseback, and eight pence *per diem* when they attended *sine equo*; so that they seem to have served occasionally on foot or on horseback according to the situation and motions of the King. Their allowance for robes was the same as in the preceding reign. By these allowances one may collect that the Body of Serjeants waited even at that period by divisions, and that their robes were worn at the Court by such of them who were not on actual Military duty; for those on guard, as we may term it, were always in their armour, as has been already observed, and will appear again hereafter.

In the next reign of King Edward III. I learn from an authority which will be mentioned in its place, that the established number of the Serjeants was thirty †; from which period, as they now appear to be on a regular establishment in point of number, salary, and other allowances, I shall proceed *regnatim*, and shew what changes they have undergone, and at proper times go into the duty and other circumstances relating to their office. In this mode of proceeding, I am

* In a Wardrobe account of that reign, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

† The number of the Serjeants temp. Edw. III. is mentioned to have been thirty. Household Ordinances of King Edward IV. called "*Domus Regis Anglicæ*." Bibl. Harl. N. 642.]

sorry to observe that the Serjeants were in disgrace in the very next reign, though the crime was not entirely their own. The young King Richard II., fond of splendour and expence, had enlarged his Household to an immoderate and unwarrantable degree, by which the people were very much oppressed by purveyance, exactions, and other grievances.

After considering the deplorable state of the Church, and the vices of the King and his Courtiers, it is not to be wondered that every Officer of Household should deviate first into luxury, and afterwards into extortion to support it. This was the case with the Serjeants: their number was much enlarged, in consequence of which exactions and oppressions increased, and they had either abused their power by false imprisonment on groundless or wanton pretences, or had taken exorbitant fees of those who fell into their custody, or indeed perhaps both. I am warranted in this heavy accusation by a Statute of the second year of this King, which accuses the Serjeants, employed in the service of the High Admiral, of taking money of fugitive mariners to set them free after their apprehension. Another charge exhibited by the same Statute against the Serjeants (*inter alios*) was the having a greater number of horses in the King's stables than was allowed; an imposition the more daring, as it was an offence punishable by a Statute made so little a while before as the 36th year of King Edward III.*. I shall conclude this reign with the clause in the Statute made in the 13th year of King Richard II. Chap. 6. which restrains the number of Serjeants to thirty, and which will shew that the charges I have brought against them are founded in truth.

* Chap. V.

“ Item

“ Item, at the grievous complaint made by the Commons to the King in this Parliament of excessive and outrageous number of Serjeants of Arms, and of many great extortions and oppressions done by them to the people; our Sovereign Lord the King therefore will, that they shall be all discharged, and that of them and other there shall be taken of good and sufficient persons to the number of thirty, and no more, from henceforth; and moreover the King defendeth that they meddle any thing that toucheth not their office, and that they do none extortion nor oppression to the people, upon pain to lose the office, and to make a fine and ransom at the King’s pleasure, and full gree to the party.”

What the number was to which King Richard had enlarged the body has never appeared; but they were got at this period into public disgrace, and were all discharged; though, by the qualifying expression that “ of them and “ other” they do not seem to have been equally guilty, and therefore we may charitably suppose that some of them were soon restored to office.

This King granted some privileges to the Lord Mayor of York in matters of Serjeanty which will be mentioned hereafter, when we come to speak of the Serjeant at Arms attending the Lord Mayor of London.

I must omit saying any thing of the reign of King Henry IV. for want of information, nothing having been preserved relating to the Serjeants at that period which has fallen within my observation; but many very material lights will be thrown on the nature of the office in the following reign;

with which I cannot avoid troubling you at large. . . These lights will appear from orders of Thomas of Lancaster [1417], which originated from some disputes which had arisen between the Kings and Heralds of Arms and the Serjeants at Arms touching their respective ranks in the King's retinue on certain occasions, and are as follows :

“ Orders made by Thomas of Lancaster for the placing of Kings, Heralds, and Serjeants at Arms *.”

“ We Thomas of Lancaster, son and brother † to the most noble King of England and of France, Duke of Clarence, Earl of Arundel, great Seneschal of England, and Constable of the King our Sovereign's Army—To all to whom these present writings shall come, greeting :

“ Whereas of late divers questions and debates are grown between certain of the King our Sovereign's Gentlemen, and the Kings of Arms being and remaining in the service of my Lord the King on the other party, in that the said parties will say and maintain to have right and privilege by reason of their offices to go and place themselves nearest before the King's person when he either rideth or goeth any whither abroad, or in the place of him that carrieth the sword before him, and likewise on solemn feast days when the meat should be served at the King's table to go before the Master of the Household or High Steward, upon which difference the said

* From Vincent's Precedents in the College of Arms. The question arose at the siege of Caen in Normandy, so that the point was *coram Jndice* in all respects, as being within the jurisdiction of the constable.

† Son of King Henry IV. and brother of King Henry V. Kings of England.
parties

parties have divers times gathered together and come before us, and requested us that, as we are their judge, and that to us belongeth the court and knowledge of all causes, questions, and debates, which happeneth amongst them, that they might be certain of the order which they ought to keep, and in what form and manner they ought to go, that we will not refuse them our appointment; and thereof to make plain declaration we give to weet, that, with great advice and ripe consideration of the matters aforesaid, and by the advice and counsel of some Officers and Lords of the Privy-Council to my Lord the King, and of divers others, well acquainted with the antient ordinances and statutes royal, we have said, declared, appointed, and ordained, we say, declare, appoint and ordain by these presents, that as often as the King shall ride or go to the church on foot or on horseback, or in any army, in field, town or other place or places where the King's honour ought to be maintained, the chief King of Arms shall from henceforward keep his place and go strait before the King's person, or him that shall carry the sword before him.

“ And the said Serjeants, which were principally founded and ordained for the conservation of the person of the King and his Lords, shall keep place, and go on either side, that is, on the right hand and on the left before him, that shall carry the sword, or before the other Lords to keep and defend away from the press of people on either side, that is, on the right hand and on the left hand.

“ And also that on solemn feasts, or any other days when the King shall keep his royal estate, or make any solemn feasts,

feasts, the said Kings of Arms and Heralds shall go strait before the Master of the Household or High Steward going before those messes of meats that shall be served at the table before the King; and on the other party the said Serjeants of Arms shall go and keep their place on the sides, as on the left and on the right hands of the Master of the Household or High Steward, or any other in his place going before the meats and services of the King, to keep and defend the press of people, and to make large way to the said Master of the Household, or to such as shall bear the aforefaid meats.

“ And if it happen that there be but one King of Arms or Herald, and one Serjeant at Arms, they shall go cheeke by cheeke before the King's person; and, if there be two Serjeants at Arms, the said King of Arms or Herald shall go, and place himself between the said Serjeants at Arms that shall go on each side either of the King or of his High Steward as aforefaid.

“ Which ordinances and agreements we will henceforth to be holden, kept, and observed; by the said Gentlemen Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Serjeants at Arms, so and in such form and manner as is before said, without contrarying the same in any manner that may be.

“ And, to the end that it may be a thing sure and stable for ever, we have given and granted unto the said parties at their requests the [these] presents, whereunto for witness we have set our seal. Given at the Royal Siege of my Sovereign the King before the town of Cayne, in his Duchy of Normandy, the third day of September, Anno 1417.”

So

So far, my Lord, the Heraldic copy of these orders goes; but it does not seem to contain the whole: the transcriber, who I presume was a Herald, has confined himself to such parts only as affected the Officers in his own line; but I find, on the other hand, an abbeviat of these orders, as manifestly the work of a Serjeant at Arms, wherein he passes as lightly over what regards the Kings and Heralds, and insists chiefly upon what relates more immediately to his own Office.

This second transcript I met with in the Museum*; and there can be no doubt, I think, that they are both parts of the same orders, as they bear equal dates; and as, where this account gives summarily what I have just cited at large, it is expressed in the same words. The preamble and the conclusion are likewise *verbatim* the same.

The paragraphs which I am going to give you from this manuscript are much more to our purpose, as they point at the general duty and power of a Serjeant at Arms, which in the former extract is circumscribed to particular situations.

After having dismissed what regards the King, the Officers of Arms, and the High Steward, the copy of the orders before me goes on thus:

And the Serjeants at Arms in Service Royal "ought to stand before the King in such fashion attired; that is to say, his head bare, and all his body armed to the feet with arms of a Knight riding, wearing a gold chain with a medal bearing all the King's Coats, with a Peion Royal† or Mace of

* Bibl. Harl. N. 297.

† Peon, a Pawn at Chess. [Stevens's Span. Dictionary]. The head of the Pawn resembles the ancient Mace.

silver

silver in his right hand, and in his left hand a truncheon.

“ That a Serjeant at Arms may apprehend or attach any subject of the King, or other whatsoever he be, remaining in the four seas of England or any part thereof, be it in any house, castle, or fort that will [may] be broken to make his arrest may raze and beat down to the ground, always excepted the eldest son of the King and the ladies his daughters.

“ That the Serjeants at Arms, by their oath, may and by right of the Sovereign ought to go before the King armed, for the more safeguard of the person of the King's Majesty.

“ And the power of a Serjeant at Arms is, that if rescues be made unto him, he may levy the power of the County where the rescue is made; neither can any arrested by the Serjeant at Arms be by any other attached out of his guard upon a great ransom, for an arrest made by the Serjeant of the King hath enfranchised his body from all other persons; for the Serjeants arrest is of more high nature than any other can be, and therefore the Serjeant at Arms is commonly called The Valourous Force of a King's Errand in the Execution of Justice.

“ And therefore whosoever shall gainsay the arrest or taking of any, shall pay as he would or ought to have paid: or whoever shall take any that is arrested out of the custody of the King's Serjeant at Arms, shall pay as much as he ought to have paid if he be [was] himself arrested.

“ Which ordinances &c. [as before].

“ Given at the Royal siege of my Sovereign the King before the town of Cayne, in his Duchy of Normandy, the third day of September, Anno 1417.”

The

These transcripts give us great insight as to the antient nature, official appearance, and effectual authority of the Serjeants, both when on personal attendance on the King, and when employed in their ministerial capacities; but this is not all I have to offer at or about this period. Some Serjeant at Arms seems to have left us further matter, which it is very essential for me to trouble you with. This Gentleman has taken the orders of Thomas of Lancaster for his groundwork, and has made several additions, which may, I think, be relied upon, as, if he was not actually a Serjeant himself, he seems to have been well informed, and is the more worthy our attention, inasmuch as he gives us the fees incident to attachments on several degrees of Nobility, &c. a circumstance which has not yet appeared *.

“ It is to be understood” (says the Writer) “ that every Serjeant at Arms to our High Lord the King, to his faith sworn, by the commandment of our Liege Lord, or of the Great Constable of England, or of the Chancellor of the Chancery of the King, or Lord Treasurer of England, may apprehend, arrest, or attach any subject, &c.”

He then takes up the words of Thomas of Lancaster; and this paragraph will serve to shew us that the Serjeants at Arms, appropriated to certain Great Officers at this day, are of very antient standing.

In speaking of the Serjeants being armed, he gives it as a privilege as well as a duty; for, “ be it known,” says he, “ that nevertheless it be forbidden, by our said Liege Lord and his

* Bibl. Harl. N° 297. It is entitled “ The office of a Serjeant at Arms attending the King’s Majesty.” No date.

Council, that no man hereafter be so bold to present himself in the King's presence armed, yet the Serjeants at Arms may, and by their oath and right of Serjeanty ought to be before their Liege armed, for the more sure guard of the person of their Liege Lord the King."

The Writer next gives us *verbatim* what the orders have said about his Armour, his Mace and Truncheon, and then touches upon new matter; *viz.* the fees accruing to the Serjeant on attachments.

" And it is to be understood, continues he, for the arrest of any Archbishop or Duke, the Serjeant shall take one hundred shillings of silver, besides forty shillings for his guard by the day.

" For the arrest of a Marquis, Bishop, Baron, Abbot, or Prior, or whatsoever he be, he shall take five marks of silver, besides two marks of silver for his guard by the day. And

" For the arrest of a Knight-Bachelor, or Banneret, he shall take forty shillings of silver, besides twenty shillings for his guard by the day.

" For the arrest of a Gentleman, he shall take twenty shillings of silver, and ten shillings for his guard by the day. And, finally,

" For the arrest of a common person, he shall take a mark of silver, besides half a mark for his guard by the day. But if the Serjeant ride, continues he, for every day he shall take,

" Of a Duke or a Bishop, five marks of silver by the day.

" Of a Lord, Baron, Abbot, or Prior, he shall take four marks by the day.

" Of a Knight, two marks.

" Of

“ Of a Gentleman, twenty shillings by the day ; and

“ Of a common person as much.

“ And it is to be understood that the horse of him that is to be arrested, if he [the Serjeant] ride, with his saddle and bridle, the Serjeant shall also have.

“ But know, that when the Serjeant is sent to treat of peace, or to do a message of justice, he shall take,

“ Of a Duke, two pounds.

“ Of a Baron, twenty shillings.

“ Of a Knight, Gentleman, or common person, ten shillings.”

The Writer then tells us of what rank and degree a Serjeant at Arms ought to be, reserving the King's pleasure ; and mentions rather warmly the then King's late condescension, as if it in some shape affected himself collaterally ; for, says he,

“ Know that in times past no Gentleman performed the service of a Serjeant at Arms, nor was ever sworn to the King, if he were not the son of a Knight at the least ; but of late time it hath pleased our Sovereign to elect thereunto the worthy son of a Gentleman without reproach.”

This account then closes with what has been said of rescues, in the very words of the orders of Thomas of Lancaster. We have, however, a still farther obligation to this Writer ; for he has annexed to the above circumstances a matter of singular curiosity, which confirms in the gross all that he has said as to fees of arrest, for custody, and the farther fee of the horse, and shews them to have been established allowances so long ago as the reign of King Edward III. “ I have

seen," says he, " a certain deed indented of release and quit-claim of Albony Cogniers, Serjeant at Arms to the King, for a certain sum of money to him due and paid, for an arrest and attachment of certain [persons], in these words :

" This endenture made at London in the vigil of St. Andrew in the 29th year of King Edward III. witnesseth, that I, Albony Conieres, Serjeant at Arms, have had and received ten pounds six shillings and eight-pence for fee and wages due to me for an arrest made at Kingston upon Thames, by the commandment of the Lord Chancellor of England, upon the body of Sir Robert Farmer, knight, and John his brother, and for Hugh of Dalle, servant of the said Sir Robert by him mainprized, for whom he undertook to answer, and that did they not, being yet arrested, and ought to be arrested, for certain enormities committed against Thomas Manchille, and not yet answered; that is to say, for an arrest made on the body of the said Sir Robert Farmer, knight, forty shillings for his custody, two days riding fifty-three shillings and four-pence. For the arrest of his brother John, twenty shillings for his custody, two days riding forty shillings. For Hugh Dalle, thirteen shillings and four-pence for his custody, two days riding forty shillings, and for their horses three pounds. And of the said money I release the said Sir Robert Farmer, knight, and John his brother, and Hugh Dalle, for ever. In witness whereof, &c."

I presume, my Lord, it was received at the Exchequer, and that this was the usual acquittance given in such cases at that period. The arrest appears to have been made in the service of the Chancellor, at the suit of the Crown, and therefore the expence did not fall on the party.

We

We have seen what the fees of attachment in all its branches were about the time of King Henry V. and what they partly were in the reign of King Henry III. These, like other fees, as money grew cheaper, seem to have encreased very much, as will appear from the following table preserved in the Harlean Library*, which, from the magnitude of the fees, must, I think, be considerably of a later standing, though, being without a date, there is nothing certain whereby to fix the time.

Fees due to a Serjeant at Arms for these several arrests following ; viz.

For a Duke, twenty pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, twenty nobles.

For a Marquis, twenty marks.

For his guard, *per diem*, five marks.

For an Archbishop, ten pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, four marks.

For an Earl, ten pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, four marks.

For a Viscount, eight pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, five nobles.

For a Baron, twenty nobles.

For his guard, *per diem*, forty shillings.

For a Bishop, five pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, forty shillings.

For a Baronet, [*i. e.* Banneret] five pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, four nobles.

For a Knight of the Bath, five pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, four nobles.

* N. 6210.

For a Knight-Bachelor, five pounds.

For his guard, *per diem*, four nobles.

For a Gentleman (£3. 6s. 8d.) five marks.

For his guard, *per diem*, twenty shillings.

For riding charges, *per diem*, twenty shillings.

For raising the *posse-comitatus*, twenty pounds.

For the fees of an offender during the *posse-comitatus*, eight marks.

Thus much, my Lord, I find it necessary to trouble you with respecting these contingent emoluments as far as they have appeared from time to time ; though as to such caption-fees as still remain, I shall reserve them till we shall have occasion to speak of the Serjeants at Arms appropriated to some of the great Officers.

It has been seen that all persons, exclusive of the King's eldest son and the King's daughters (not excepting the younger sons) were attachable formerly by a Serjeant at Arms ; but a case now lies before me, where a Priest denies the Serjeant's power over him, and cites the Serjeant before the Court of Chivalry to answer for the false imprisonment. The Serjeant, on the other hand, appeals, by petition, to the Privy Council. The scene lay in the province of Guyenne, and the Serjeant states what he did was by command of the King's Lieutenant in Gascoigne, and prays a writ of Privy Seal directed to the Constable and Marshal to remove the matter before the Privy Council in England. The Serjeant's petition was granted, as appears by a docquet ; but the event was unknown. Both the petition and the docquetted Order of
Council

Council are without date of the reign, though from the Lords who signed the order it evidently happened in the year 1428, the sixth year of King Henry the sixth.

The foregoing account, from the orders of Thomas of Lancaster, and from the Serjeant who comments and enlarges upon them, give us the first view we have had of our Serjeants at Arms being "armed in proof:" but it is not the last, though every idea of such accoutrements have now long since been not only laid aside to rust in obscurity, but totally forgotten. Whether the armour was provided by the King in the times of which we have been speaking is a matter which must be left in doubt: but, however, there arises an evidence from the circumstance itself to shew that the Serjeants at Arms were not so styled in an Heraldic, but in a Military sense. I suggest this, because some writers have made them a part of the same establishment with the Officers of Arms*.

The second time that I meet with the Serjeants *armed* is in tilts and tournaments, where they took an active, and (inferiorly) a judicial part: for, at the command of the Constable and Marshal, they arrested any who offended against the laws of Chivalry. "Without the principal lifts," says my author, "were counter-lifts, within which, at the two entrances, stood the King's Serjeants at Arms, who were not only to prevent people from entering, nay, even from approaching within four feet, but, to see and consider if any default or offence were committed contrary to the proclamation of

* Edmondion's Body of Heraldry.

Court, against the King's Royal Majesty, or the law of Arms. These men," continues he, "were ever armed at all pieces*."

Though the Serjeants at Arms in such instances appear in armour, yet this circumstance must be confined to peculiar occasions; for they wore the ordinary dress of the Court when not employed in Service Royal, as it has been called. They had accordingly, as has been seen, Winter and Summer robes allowed in the reigns of King Edward I. and King Edward II. not distinguishable from other Officers of Household, with the Collar appurtenant to the rank of an Esquire.

The little Mace at that time was capable of concealment till the moment of attachment came; and it is rather matter of surprize that an Ensign of Office, once so small, should in after-times (contrary to the usual course of things) become so large; for the Serjeants seem now to carry the whole weight of their antient armour on their shoulders. As the size of their Maces increased, their business must certainly lessen; for so large a badge of Office could never consist with the duty of a man who was to proceed in haste, and *incognito*, to surprize a person with an attachment. The decay of their employment in the King's service may therefore very well be dated from the time their Maces grew to such an enormous magnitude, whenever it was; from which time they may be considered as Officers of State rather than of defence or of vengeance, and from thenceforth we must consider the eight Serjeants who belong to the King's suite as ostensible characters.

* Jhones's Book of Honour and Arms, p. 84.

Neither

Neither the number of the Serjeants at Arms nor their salaries have appeared to us in the reigns of the Kings Henry IV, Henry V, or Henry VI. As to number, we left them at thirty by the regulating Statute of King Richard II. Whether it afterwards arose from farther complaints, or from retrenchments, cannot be said; but the Household Book of Orders in the reign of King Edward IV. actually reduces them to four in number, with the salary of twelve pence *per diem*, or four-pence, at the King's pleasure, and regards them at the same time rather with a jealous eye. There shall be, say these Ordinances, "Serjeants of Arms Four, chosen, proved men of haviour and condition, for the King and his honourable Household; whereof two alway to be attending upon the King's person and chamber, and to avoid the press of the people before, where as the King shall come; and in like wise at the conveyance of his meat at every course from the surveying-board; also observing of the King's commandments; and so after the Steward, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and Controller for the King, or for his Household. They eat in the hall together with Esquires of Household, taking their wages of twelve-pence by the day, or four-pence, as it pleaseth the King, after their abilities, by Letters Patent; and cloathing also to be taken of the issue and profit growing to the King in divers Counties of England by the hands of the receivers of them; no more having in Household; but every of them when he is present in Court at night, &c. [then follow the usual allowances of Ale, Candles, Wood, &c.] The Ordinances then add, "By the Statutes of the noble Edward were thirty Serjeants of Arms, sufficiently

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ficiently armed and ~~horfed~~, riding before his Highness when he journeyed by (in) the Country, for a Garde de Corps du roi. And if any of these be sick &c

Also sufficient lodging assigned these Serjeants together, not far from the Court, for hasty errands when they fall."

This was a very great reduction from the time of King Edward III. and still more from that of his grandson King Richard II.

I pass over the momentary reign of King Edward V. and indeed have little to say upon the subject during the short reign of King Richard III. and that little I shall likewise reserve till we come to speak of the Serjeant at Arms attending the Lord Mayor of London.

Notwithstanding King Henry VII. erected a new escorte, under the denomination of Yeomen of the Guard, consisting of fifty archers, yet the Serjeants do not appear to have lost any of their consequence; for I find them employed in the field in the seventh year of this reign, when they were called upon by Statute to attend the King (then going in person to prosecute a war in France), and subjected to the penalty of absolute dismissal for neglect, unless they had leave of absence even under the sanction of the Great Seal.

The words of the Statute, which are both explicit and pre-emptory, run thus; "If any Serjeant of Arms, having any fee for the said office, go not with the King's Grace in this voyage over the sea, having no license of the King's Highness, under the Great Seal, to be out of the said army, that he forfeit his fee granted to him for exercising of the said office.*"

* Raftall's Statutes, Anno 7. Hen. VII. Chap. 3.

Such

Such strong terms as these, I am afraid, leave room for a suspicion that the Serjeants had neglected attendance on former occasions, when the King took the field abroad.

The reign of King Henry VIII. affords nothing new with respect to the Serjeants, and therefore we may suppose they remained *in statu quo prius*; for the Ordinances of that reign hardly mention them, except that the Statutes of Eltham (1526) allow them to have in any of the out-lying Palaces three horses each, and two beds. One remarkable circumstance however must not pass unnoticed, as being quite new to us; which is, that the Queen-Consort had at that time a Serjeant at Arms in her suite, with an allowance on such occasions of one bed and provender for three horses. The singularity which strikes *primâ facie* is, that a Queen-Consort should have an Officer of that nature; but Holinshed, who gives a very full account of the reception and marriage of the Princess Anne of Cleves and King Henry VIII. says expressly that the Queen after the ceremony retired to her closet, with her Serjeant at Arms and all her Officers before her, like a Queen.

It is, however, not more extraordinary than what we have before seen, where Queen Philippa, the wife of King Edward III. appears to have had an Esquire of the body. The King indeed at the time was absent, and such an Officer might be left to attend her Grace, who could with propriety acquaint her with any thing material that might arrive at an unreasonable hour. So that she seems to have had such an Officer *Jure Representationis*.

We have seen times in the course of this Memoir when some of the highest orders of the subjects, even of the Blood

Royal, have been amenable to the power of the Mace: but we may collect from a former Memoir, that this power in the reign of King Henry VIII. was seemingly on the decline; for, in the attachment of Cardinal Wolsey, the King did not make use of a Serjeant at Arms, who would have carried an uncontrovertible badge of office with him, but of a Gentleman of his Privy-Chamber, who, without either Mace or Warrant, on a mere *ipse dixit*, attached the Cardinal, by whom the sufficiency of the authority was allowed. This, I am aware, lies open to an objection; *viz.* that the privacy with which the business was to be conducted would not admit of an Officer of so great notoriety; but that objection may be removed, for the Maces of the Serjeants were at that time small, and capable of concealment, as may be collected from the orders of Thomas of Lancaster, where the Serjeants were to carry a Mace in one hand, and a Truncheon in the other. The Maces, I conceive, at that time resembled those now used by the Marshals, and Serjeants at Mace of the City of London, which are not more than twenty inches in length, and in the trunk not larger in diameter than the barrel of a horse-pistol.

The Mace on the table of your Society was presumably a State-Mace of its time; being, though now comparatively small, even too large for ordinary use in attachments; unless it was an offensive weapon, with which idea its size seems very well to coincide.

In the following short reign of King Edward VI. little is to be expected; and accordingly nothing is discernible but that there were twenty-two Serjeants at twelve pence *per diem* and diet.

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The succeeding reign must likewise in great measure be passed over *sub silentio*. The number of Serjeants was twenty-three, for which small addition it is not worth while to ask a reason, as it may perhaps be a mistake of the transcriber *currente calamo* *. One circumstance however is observable after the King's demise, during a momentary *Inter-regnum*, that, when the Duke of Northumberland was arrested by an order of Council, the Officer made use of for the purpose was a Serjeant at Arms †; from whence it appears that the Council could at that time command a Serjeant to execute their orders. The post of Gentleman of the Privy Chamber had ceased by the death of the King, and could not revive till the succession of the Crown was established. What King Henry did was by his sole prerogatory authority; this was an act of the collective body of the Council.

Queen Elizabeth appears to have had twenty-five Serjeants at Arms, with the fee to each of twelve pence *per diem*, and a table ‡; but nothing material happened in that reign to bring the Serjeants forward to our view.

In the second year of King James I. (1604) a retrenchment took place, which probably, for I cannot speak positively, reduced the Serjeants to sixteen in number, for so I find them, with twelve pence *per diem* and a table, in the year 1615 §. This, though in itself a very great retrenchment, does not seem to

* I give this from a MS account of this Queen's Household, in the Library of your Society.

† Stowe's Chronicle, p. 612.

‡ Bibl. Cotton. Titus B. III.

§ Orders of Household of the year 1604, in Bibl. Harl. N^o. 642.

have

have affected these Officers, except in point of number; for their table was continued in its full extent, although even the table of the King and Queen was diminished. It had been usual (as appears from these orders of Household) for the Serjeants at Arms (*inter alios*) to have a stone of meat extraordinary on the following festivals; *viz.* All-hallow day, Christmas day, and the three following holidays, on New Year's day, Twelfth day, Easter day, and Whit-sunday, which allowance was by those orders (of 1604) expressly directed to be continued. Little more is discernible respecting them in this reign; except that, though our Kings might and did prerogatively appropriate one or more Serjeants to certain high offices; yet it does not appear that King James permitted his son Prince Henry to have any Serjeants at Arms, though at the same period we see them in the retinue of the Great Officers of State and the Lord Mayor of London*. The reason, however, is plain; for the laws were now grown so compact, that even the King could not, as in times of undecided authority, make use of any medium but the established law of the land in the apprehension of the humblest of his subjects. At this time also the authority of the King's Serjeants at Arms, as ministering Officers of arbitrary power, was worn out; and the Prince of Wales, having no judicial use for them, had them not as Officers of State.

King Charles I, who had sixteen Serjeants at Arms, granted them in the first year of his reign an exemption from the payment of fifteenths and tenths†.

* Bibl. Harl. N°. 642. printed by Dr. Birch in his Life of Prince Henry.

† Rymer's Foedera, tom. XVIII. p. 328.

These

These are very old taxes, impolitically revived by King Charles I. The fifteenth is mentioned in Magna Charta, which, Lord Coke says, was levied upon cities, boroughs, and towns, in the gross, and consisted of a fifteenth part of the value of all moveables, or what we should now call personal estate †. The tenth was a still heavier impost, and is mentioned in the time of King Richard II. These taxes were never used after the year 1624. The mode of levying them, Mr. Anderfon says, is not known ‡. The same King, upon a general retrenchment, anno 1629, in his fifth year, took away the table of the Serjeants, and allowed to each of them fifteen pence *per diem* in lieu of it §.

Whether this was more or less satisfactory to the parties cannot well be known; but it is presumable that it operated towards the general purpose of reform for which it was intended. This King however granted them, on petition, the like fees of honour in the gross as he had before given to his Gentlemen Ushers ||; though from their number the fees were individually very different, there being sixteen Serjeants when there were but four Gentlemen Ushers. Considering the times, and the numerous honours conferred in that century, the emolument was not contemptible; and indeed, if the Serjeants had not thought it desirable, they would hardly have petitioned for it.

† Coke, Inst. Part. IV. Ch. I.

‡ Anderfon on Commerce, II. p. 17.

§ Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XIX. p. 126.

|| Rymer's Fœdera.

We are now brought to the happy period of the Restoration, which became individually a blessing to the Officers of whom we are now speaking. The pay of twelve-pence *per diem* was respectable in the reign of the Fourth Edward, and for a great number of years afterwards. King Charles I. had given them an exemption from a temporary impost (the fifteenths and tenths), and a contingent emolument in the fees of honour; and I presume King Charles I. considered fifteen pence *per diem* an equivalent for the table; but his son and successor, it is plain, thought it too small an allowance by half, for he gave his Serjeants two shillings and six *per diem* for their board wages; and, what is more, enlarged their salaries to a triplicate of their old pay, allowing them three shillings *per diem* *. These two sums are the component parts of the present pay of the Serjeants at Arms attendant on the King's person. We may add to these, that they were allowed at the Restoration ten shillings *per day* riding charges in Progresses, or when the Court moved. King Charles II. likewise closed his munificence to the Serjeants, by enlarging their former grant of fees of honour †.

There was, at the time I speak of, a table called *The Waiters table*, which was regulated about the year 1670, and at which it is specified, by Household Ordinances, that one Serjeant at Arms should occasionally have a seat, *viz.* the Serjeant who attended the sewer on Sundays and festival days, by which presumably it is meant whenever the King dined in state, and is consonant with the Orders of King Edward the Fourth ‡.

* Rotulus Servorum, in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

† Rymer's Fœdera.

‡ Vide antea, See also the Ordinances of King Charles II.

As to the duty of the Serjeants by rotation in the reign of King Charles I. and King Charles II. the Orders of Household direct, " That the sixteen Serjeants at Arms wait quarterly, four in each quarter : that four Serjeants at Arms do give their attendance every Sunday and holiday, and whensoever we shall go to church ; and that two Serjeants at Arms only shall attend us in all progresses, and whensoever the sword of state is carried."

There was antiently a formal creation of a Serjeant at Arms not unlike that of an Officer of Arms (though with less ceremony), when the Serjeant was invested with his Collar, and furnished, I might at this time say loaded, with his Mace. I have been so fortunate as to meet with an account of this little ceremonial in the Museum, which, though it is without date, seems to belong either to the reign of King James I. of King Charles I. or of King Charles II. and runs as follows :

" The Creation of a Serjeant at Arms.

" On a Sermon-day, in his Majesty's passage to Chapel, his Majesty is pleased to make some stay in the Presence Chamber ; and there the Serjeant at Arms to be created is presented by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlain, and the Serjeant falls down on his knees. Then the senior Serjeant having the Collar of SS delivers it to the Lord Chamberlain ; and his Lordship presents it to his Majesty, who is pleased to put it about the neck of the Serjeant at Arms. The senior Serjeant likewise delivers the Mace to the Lord Chamberlain ; which his Lordship presents to his Majesty, and

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his Majesty lays it on the right shoulder of the person to be created, and says, " Rise up, Serjeant at Arms, and Esquire for ever."

I would remark upon this account, that the escort of the Maces, even at this day, goes no farther internally than the Presence Chamber, taking their post and quitting it there; so that the scene of such ceremony lay properly in that room.

By the Sermon day is meant, as is expressed in the Ordinances of King Charles II. just cited, a Sunday or an holiday; for on other days the King, at that time, either used his private Oratory, or at least did not go to the Chapel in full state.

The imposition of the Collar created the party an Esquire, according to the old manner, when every Officer of that rank in the Household was created into his office by the imposition of a Collar, which he was called upon to wear when on duty, as appears by Ordinances of Household of King Edward IV. *. This creation, however, goes a step farther; for, when the Serjeant has received his Mace from the King, he is declared not only to be an Esquire by office (a title which in common cases was lost, if the party was dismissed from his post), but, at all events, an Esquire for ever.

A few words more, my Lord, on the ceremonial we have just read, and then I will trouble you with something farther on the subject of Collars, which were once so much worn in the Court. You may have observed that the senior Serjeant presents a Mace to the King, to be laid on the new Serjeant's

* Cited in a former Dissertation, on the Esquires of the King's Body.

shoulder,

shoulder, which accounts for a circumstance that still survives, *viz.* that the senior Serjeant's Mace is even now by many ounces lighter than any of the other Maces, for which no reason can be given, but that, being the supposed Mace of Investiture, it has continued to be made lighter than the rest, though it was formerly so contrived for the ease of the Sovereign on these occasions*. This ceremonial of creation is now wholly dispensed with, and the office is virtually conferred by patent; but formerly both were necessary; for the patent I find in the reign of Queen Elizabeth merely conveyed the fee or salary and other emoluments, previous to the actual creation, wherein the party had only the addition of Gentleman, the title of Esquire remaining to be conferred on him by the above ceremony. The patent I speak of is of the 39th year of Queen Elizabeth, in Latin, in favour of George Dutton, Gentleman, and does not use the word *creavimus*, which shews that the ceremony subsisted in that reign; neither do the modern patents use the word *create*, but merely "constitute and appoint," so that all idea of the investiture is totally vanished, and the party, once so honourably dubbed, is now only styled Esquire in the patent, without any differential specification.

This account of the creation and investiture of a Serjeant at Arms may tend to remove the popular error, that the Collar is a singular and peculiar honour to the party; whereas,

* The present difference in weight is not very considerable (about thirty ounces), but probably that which is now the lightest might, at the time it was made have been the heaviest.

in fact it is nothing more than the survival of an official badge, which was formerly worn by every person of the degree of an Esquire in the Royal Household, and with which he was invested when his office was conferred. The same may be said of the Collars worn by the Kings of Arms and Herald, who were antiently created into their offices with acts of greater ceremony, though in these and all other cases the custom of such investiture has long been discontinued.

We are now arrived at a period when the Serjeants at Arms appeared in the same manner as at present (the dress of the times excepted), with their Maces on their shoulders, and their Collar about their necks; though it must be observed they now never wear their Collars but on Collar-days. The Collar was understood to be, as I have insinuated, indicative of their Household rank, and the Mace the badge of their office. These two civil appendages were, at the time of which I am speaking, as well as at present, all the official remains of these Gentlemen, who were formerly "clad in complete steel."

It has been observed that Collars were appendages to every Officer of the rank of an Esquire in the Royal Household; and thus the Serjeants of every denomination, down from the Serjeants at Arms to the Serjeant of the Scullery, wore Collars expressive of their rank, and are all at this day Esquires by virtue of their posts. Esquires by general office tenure, however, enjoyed that rank no longer than they held the post which gave it them; and, on vacating it, they sunk into their pristine state of Gentlemen: but the case was otherwise

wife with the Serjeants at Arms ; for the title was, by words of creation, transferred from the office to the person, and expired only with themselves.

With respect to Collars in general, on which I have promised to trouble your Lordship with a few words, as the antient Household badge of Esquires, the injunction contained in the Ordinances of King Edward IV. obliging every officer in the King's service, of or above that rank, to wear them daily is to be construed as a reprimand to those who neglected to do it, and farther was accompanied with a penalty for contumacy.

Mr. Selden was very clearly of opinion, though he seems never to have seen the above-mentioned Orders of Household, that Esquires in the King's service were created by the imposition of a Collar by the Sovereign ; and cites the old ballad of " The Tanner of Tamworth." King Edward IV. as the story goes, being hunting in the neighbourhood of Tamworth, left his train at a little distance, that he might pass himself on the Tanner for a poor courtier, and have some conversation with him. The King was so well diverted with the pleasant bluntness of the fellow, that he recalled his train, and, after discovering himself, gave the Tanner lands, and, calling for a Collar, put it on the Tanner, adding,

" Lo ! here I make thee the best Esquire

" That is in the North-Countrie *."

Sir

* Titles of Honour, p. 826. edit. 1631. The learned Editor of the " Reliques of

Sir Henry Spelman is also very expressly to the same point, that the Collar was a symbol of Esquireship when conferred by the Sovereign *. These Collars were not only the badges of an Esquire in the King's House, but were used by inferior branches of the Blood Royal in their establishments, as appears from a citation in Mr. Anstis's Register of the Garter, extracted from a Computus of the Great Wardrobe of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, &c. in the 20th year of King Richard II. from whence it should seem that the Duke not only wore a Collar himself, but gave Collars to his Esquires. We must here guard against an easy mistake, *viz.* that the Duke's Collar was a part of the order of the Garter; for that was not added to the Insignia of the Order, at least till the reign of King Henry VII.

These Collars, as delineated in pictures, particularly those of Chaucer and Gower (the Poets), have misled many who have taken them for symbols of Knighthood †. They were, as we have seen, officially worn by Knights Bannerets, and even Lords in the King's service; but it never has appeared to me, as far as I discern, that they were at any time the pure

of Antient Poetry" allows this ballad to have been mutilated; and indeed it has suffered so much in this particular stanza, that neither of two editions which he mentions have the lines above given by Mr. Selden. I have, however, seen an edition, in black letter, without date, and printed singly for F. Coles in Vine street near Hatton Garden, wherein the passage is found as cited by Mr. Selden. It was discovered in the library of the late Edward Wynne, Esquire, which was sold by auction 1786.

* Glossary, voc. *Armiger*. See also Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter. Ch. VII. Sect. 8.

† Selden's Titles of Honour.

Insignia

Insignia of Knights-Bachelors, Bannerets, or Peers, simply as such. It is to be presumed that the Collar of the Order of Household (if I may so term it) was more highly ornamented according to the degree of the party, and issued out of the King's Jewel-office.

There needs little more proof that the imposition of a Collar was one mode of creating an Esquire, than what we have seen in the investiture of a Serjeant at Arms. The first part of the process is the putting on the Collar, which conveys a new rank to the party; and the second (the imposition of the Mace on the shoulder) possesses him of his office: add to this the words of the King, who bids him who knelt down a Gentleman rise up an Esquire. But a farther proof may be had from the Officers of Arms, who were antiently created into their posts with ceremony; one part of which consisted in the imposition of the Collar on the Kings and Heralds of Arms, which is not an appendage to the lower Heraldic order, *viz.* the Pursuivants, because their post does not carry with it the rank of Esquire*.

These, I believe are all that remain of the King's Collars, unless we may except those worn by the Chief Justices of the Courts of King's Bench, and Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The Lord Mayor of London has a Collar, in addition to his official dress; but in

* These Official Collars of the Serjeants at Arms, and of the Kings and Heralds, seem to have been discontinued for some time previous to the Restoration; after which Mr. Ashmole insinuates that they were renewed to the parties by King Charles II. [History of the Order of the Garter, Ch. VII. Sect 8.]

this

this case it was the gift of a member of the Corporation, having been presented to the City, to be worn by the Lord Mayor for the time being, by Sir John Allen, Knight and Alderman, who lived in the reign of King Henry VIII*.

The wearing expensive Collars of gold was so prevalent a fashion in that reign, that it was necessary to correct it by a Sumptuary Law in the twenty-fourth year of King Henry (1533), which enacted that "no person, unless he be a Knight, shall wear any Collar of Gold named a Collar of SS."

The Household collars, if at that time continued, were, I presume, of silver, as they are at present, though in the Orders of King Edward IV. they are styled Collars of the King's colours, as if they were ornamented with devices of the colours of the field and charges in the Royal Arms interchanged. As the Lord Mayors at that time were for the much great part knighted, this would not overthrow Sir John Allen's munificence: but, had there been a doubt, it might have been dispensed with by the King's exclusive grant, as this Gentleman, according to Weever, was of the King's Privy-Council. The Lord Mayor of London, though not actually a Knight in point of ceremonial, was long before considered as of that rank, or a Knight's Peer (*milite equipollens*): for a statute (anno 3 Edward IV.) says, the Mayors of London, and their wives, even after the expiration of the office, shall be allowed to wear the same apparel as Knights-Bachelors and their wives; and at the same time enacts, that

* Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 402. All these Collars are fully described in Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, Ch. VII. Sect. 8.

the

the Mayors of all other Cities (not excepting York) shall only wear the apparel prescribed for Esquires or "Gentlemen possessed of an estate of £40. *per annum*."

These Collars I do not conceive were worn as at present, tied with ribbons on each shoulder for the greater and more equal display behind and before; but that they depended from the chignon or nape of the neck down the breast, and of course fell into an elliptic form. Whether the old Collars in general had any badge appendant in the front cannot be said; but we have seen the Serjeants at Arms had formerly a Medal, with all the King's coats blazoned upon it, affixed to this Collar, which the Commentator on the orders of Thomas of Lancaster called a Chain.

To these Collars succeeded the gold Chains so much worn formerly by Gentlemen both in public and private characters. They seem to have been originally presents from Princes, and from thence descended from father to son: for the usual compliment to a Negotiator on his departure from the Court to which he was sent, if matters went on satisfactorily, was a Chain. Thus, not to multiply instances, when Sir James Melville was sent by Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, the latter, on his leaving her Court, gave him "a fair Chain*." Then again, as to foreign negotiations, though presents of this kind were seldom refused, we have a singular instance of reluctance in the accepting, in the case of Sir Amyas Pawlet, who, returning from France, having finished his embassy on the part of Queen Elizabeth to the

* Memoirs of Sir James Melville, p. 71.

satisfaction of that Court, was with much difficulty prevailed upon by the French King to accept a Chain, saying in excuse, metaphorically, "He would wear no Chains but those of his Royal Mistress," meaning his duty and allegiance; looking upon the present more as a bribe as to future operations than a compliment and gratification for what was past. He went, however, still farther; for he left Paris in this resolution; and the Chain was actually sent after him when he was a league from thence on his return to England, and he then accepted it (as he declared) merely because he would not disoblige the French King*.

The use of gold Chains by such as affected to be considerable Gentlemen was grown to such a height in the reign of King Henry VIII. that the Sumptuary Law in his 24th year before-mentioned limits them to persons only who could expend a clear ~~£~~200. *per annum*†. This Statute, if not repealed, afterwards lost its force; and Chains became, as we have seen, an ornamental part of dress, not only to those who received them from foreign Princes, but to any Gentleman who could afford to wear them, as may be seen in pictures of persons living in the 16th and 17th centuries in most families of account, and which, if they had descended for some generations, were proportionally in the higher estimation.

As these became badges of gentility and dignity, they were assumed by men in every public line, and particularly by Civil Magistrates; and formerly, if my author be right, all the Aldermen of London wore them, though now they

* Lloyd's Worthies,

† Ch. 13.

are only appropriated to the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and such Aldermen who have passed the chair*.

The Lord Mayor of York has no Collar, but a Chain only, which is worn differently from that of the Lord Mayor of London; the former being but a triple Chain, each row of links longer than the other, so as to fall distinctly in three ovals of different sizes on the breast; whereas the latter consists of an assemblage of several rows of links, hanging from the neck down the breast without any division, and returning it suspended by a hook placed in one of the upper button-holes of his coat.

The Lady Mayores of London likewise at this day wears a Chain of small links, which is made an ornament to the robings of her gown; as does the Lady Mayores of York†. One peculiarity existed at York till within these very few years, which I shall mention, though it is not immediately to our purpose; *viz.* that the wife of a Lord Mayor preserved (may I not say usurped?) the title of Ladyship for life. From hence arose the provincial saying:

* Mess. La Serre, in his History of the Entrée of the Queen Mother into England, A D. 1639, says that the whole body of the twenty-four Aldermen wore chains of gold: "portans chacun une chesne d'or." [p. 33.] A Foreigner might easily err, and, seeing some with chains, reasonably enough conclude they were common to all the Aldermen. It may be observed, however, that this was probably the truth; for, in an engraved Frontispiece to a little book called "Anglice Metropolis," published A D. 1690, the Aldermen are all represented with Chains.

† Chains worn by women about the neck are mentioned as antient ornaments of that sex temp. Edw. III. [Hist. of the Garter, Ch. VII. Sect. 8.]

“ My Lord is a Lord for a year and a day ;

“ My Lady a Lady for ever and aye.”

And Mr. Drake tells us, there are monuments in York Minster to the wives of some Aldermen who had passed the chair, where this factitious title of Lady is retained without any other reason for the addition than the then customary compliment. This prolongation of an adventitious and momentary honour at York is now totally exploded, and the title expires with the year of the Alderman's Mayoralty as in London. While this stretch of courtesy subsisted, it must be allowed that the privileges of York went farther in the female than those of London ; but in the male line, the more honourable dignities of office will, on examination fall short, when I shall speak particularly of the Serjeant at Arms attending the Lord Mayor of London.

Here, my Lord, I was in hopes of setting you at liberty from so long a memoir ; but cannot forbear troubling you with a very singular circumstance respecting Collars, or rather Chains, which is related in Bosman's Description of the Coast of Guinea *. Speaking of the King of Benin, and the police of that kingdom, he tells us, that the highest state next the King is composed of three Lords, or Great Men. The next order is called *Are de Roes*, or Street Kings, who preside over different branches of the establishment in respect to revenues, &c. ; Vice-Roys and Governors of provinces are chosen out of these last, and all of them are under the command of,

* London, 1705, octavo, p. 433, et seq.

and

and responsible to, the three Lords, or Great Men, by whose recommendation these honourable posts are obtained. Thus much is necessary, to prepare you for what follows. "The King" (says my author) "presents each of them [*i. e.* these superintendants] with a string of coral, equivalent to an order of Knighthood. This string they are obliged to wear continually about their necks, without ever daring to put it off on any account whatever. If they are so unhappy as to lose it, or carelessly suffer it to be stolen, they are, *ipso facto*, irretrievably condemned to die."

My author gives us examples within his own knowledge, which I shall relate as briefly as may be :

"For the confirmation of which," says he, "I can give you two instances, to one of which I was a witness; *viz.* A Negro who, through inadvertency, had suffered this chain to be stolen from him, without delay was executed; as was also the other, who acknowledged himself guilty of the said robbery; besides three more who were privy to it, and did not timely discover it. Thus," says this writer, "five men were put to death for a chain of coral, that was not intrinsically worth two pence."

The second instance Mr. Bosman gives is equally replete with horrible consequences. The Captain of a Portuguese ship had caused a Fiador (one of these collar-men) to be arrested on board his ship for a debt; when, resisting the attempt, he was seized by the pilot, who caught hold of his chain of coral, broke it in pieces, and threw it overboard; which so dispirited the Fiador, that he surrendered himself
imme-

immediately. But this was not all : the catastrophe was bloody and decisive as to both parties. The Fiador afterwards, finding the Pilot asleep, shot him through the head, and, wounding the dead body in several places, threw away his weapon ; adding, “ he had now taken his revenge, and that it was perfectly indifferent to him what they did with him ; for,” continues he, “ when my coral was thrown overboard. I was a dead man.”

The description this writer gives of these chains, so valuable to the wearers, and often by their loss so fatal, is that they are formed, though in a country abounding with gold, of no better a material than a pale red cocktile earth, or stone glazed, having the appearance of marble. Such is the comparative value of our wants and our possessions, and such the brittle ornaments of office !

I come now to trouble your Lordship with short accounts of such Serjeants at Arms as are at present, or have been till very lately, appropriated to certain great Officers ; because they are in fact parts of the main body in the King's actual service, and under the same patronage : to which I shall add a word or two on the office of the Beadles in our Universities, which bears a strong affinity to that of a Serjeant at Arms.

Of the SERJEANTS AT ARMS,

Attendant on the LORD CHANCELLOR, the LORD TREASURER, the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, and the LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

We have hitherto, my Lord, confined ourselves to the Serjeants at Arms in general, as attendants on the Royal Person, which have at different times varied in point of number: but of these a Serjeant has been immemorially annexed to certain high officers respectively. The above-mentioned four are all that have of late remained as appropriated Serjeants, who are likewise sworn to the King's immediate service, though allotted to other attendances, of each of which it may be necessary to say what occurs.

Besides the Great Officers above enumerated, and of whom we are to speak, there were others, who antiently either had a Serjeant at Arms allowed them, or could at least command one when it became necessary. And it has already appeared that the Lord High Admiral made use of the Serjeants authoritatively in the reign of King Richard II.; and the orders of Thomas of Lancaster (temp. Hen. V.) expressly allow a Serjeant to the High Constable of England.

The Lord President of Wales and the Lord President of the North had each of them a Serjeant at Arms*; as had the Lord High Steward so long as that Office existed, as he now has when the office is occasionally revived for the trial of a Peer. There is indeed a Lord High Steward appointed

* Blount's Dict. in voce *Serjeant*.

for

for every successive Coronation, though on those occasions he is but an individual, his state being absorbed by the presence of the King.

On the trial of a Peer, Mr. Serjeant Hawkins * says indefinitely, that the High Steward is to be attended by several Serjeants at Arms. At the trial of Lord Audley (1631) seven Serjeants † were appointed to the service; but at present the number consists of no more than four. The Lord Chancellor for the time being is now always constituted High Steward, and has three of the King's Serjeants added to his own, which forms a Royal escorte, as I may call it; for the King has now no more than four on duty at a time. The Peers on such solemnities are summoned, not in the ordinary course, but by the Serjeants at Arms of the Lord Chancellor as High Steward; and at the opening of the Court the proclamation is likewise read officially by this Serjeant with the Mace on his shoulder.

Whether one Serjeant, or a certain number of Serjeants, was specifically annexed to each of the above-mentioned Great Officers, when the King had thirty Serjeants in his service, may admit of a doubt; for the Serjeant who in the reign of King Edward III. attached Sir Robert Farmer by order of the Chancellor does not speak as if he was a particular appendage to the Great Seal; but styles himself gene-

* Pleas of the Crown.

† Rushworth, vol. II. p. 96. This was at a period when there were sixteen Serjeants in the gress.

rally a Serjeant at Arms. Afterwards, however, in the reign of King Henry V. the Serjeants who acted under the authority of these high Officers seem to have been appropriated; for the orders of Thomas of Lancaster say, that a Serjeant may be sworn to the faith of the King by commandment of the Great Constable, the Chancellor, or Lord Treasurer; which shews that the appointment of a Serjeant (and consequently the use of him) was in these great Officers, though, at the same time, the party, as it remains at this day, was in the general service of the King. We will now go to such peculiar circumstances as belong respectively to these four Serjeants.

OF THE
SERJEANT AT ARMS
Attending the Lord High Chancellor.

The Serjeant attendant on this great Officer varies in one particular from the other three before us, as he has barely the salary of the King, without the board-wages; his pay still remaining at 3*s. per diem*, the stipend of every Serjeant as established at the Restoration. He seems, therefore, to have been struck off from the body of his brethren when the table was commutated for board-wages, as if he was considered as domesticated with other officers in the Lord Chancellor's service, and was to be dieted at a second table in his Lordship's Household. I collect this from the words of his patent, which differ from the rest, in all of which the board-wages are specifically mentioned. Diet, indeed, is included in the general terms of this Serjeant's patent; from whence I presume it runs in the old form made use of previous to the commutation of the table for board-wages.

The words of the patent, however, shew that he is primarily in the King's service. Thus he is styled. "A Serjeant at Arms in ordinary of Us, our Heirs, &c. to attend upon the Chancellor, or Keeper, or Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Great Britain for the time being, with the wages and fee of three shillings *per diem*, to be paid out of the Hanaper, with all other profits, commodities, emoluments, allowances, liveries, diet, and advantages, in any wise heretofore due and accustomed, belonging to the said Office.

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This appendage of authority, annexed to the Lord Chancellor in his double capacity, antiently had its double use and significance, though by the practice of the House of Peers all commitments are now made to the custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. Notwithstanding this, it is evident without farther proof that the Lord Chancellor's Serjeant is considered, at this day, as an Officer of the House of Peers, from the allowance made to him by Parliament; for he receives at the Exchequer 10*s.* for every day he attends the Lord Chancellor to the House, paid by certificate under the name of the Clerk of the Parliament.

Were it not for this last emolument, the office of which we are speaking would be, in these times, but small, considering the attendance required. Whatever other profit accrues to the post is of a disagreeable nature, and arises from attachments for contempt of the Court of Chancery. These fees are of public notoriety, and are to be seen in a Book of Orders of the Court of Chancery, known in the professional line by the name of the Fee Book, settled by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and are as follows:

	£. s. d.		
Travelling each Mile, ...	0	1	0
Searching each day, ...	0	13	4
Caption fee of a Knight, ...	5	0	0
Caption fee of a Gentleman or common person, ...	3	6	8
Custody fee each day, ...	0	13	4
The return of process against a Knight, ...	5	0	0
The return of process against a Gentleman or common person, ...	3	6	8

These fees, I would observe, are founded, as we have seen, on very antient custom ; and, from the distinction they make as to the rank of the party, have an undoubted reference to the antient Droits common to every Serjeant on attachments in former ages. A Knight, I presume, is here meant to include every degree above that Order ; whereas antiently the fees were proportioned to the rank of each party, and differed, as we have seen, *secundum dignitatem*.

OF THE
SERJEANT AT ARMS
Attending the Lord High Treasurer.

Little can be said of this Serjeant, but that he is equally subject to the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of High Treasurer, as to the High Treasurer himself, when the office is not in commission; for in his patent he is styled "A Serjeant at Arms in ordinary to attend the Commissioners of our Treasury, or our High Treasurer of Great Britain, with the wages and fee of 3*s.* *per diem*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* *per diem* for board wages." As the office of High Treasurer, either taken individually, or as by commission, never is suspended, so this Serjeant is presumed to be in continual employment or attendance, like the Serjeant appropriated to the Lord Chancellor, which is not the case of the Serjeant allotted to the Speaker of the House of Commons, as will appear hereafter.

I presume that formerly, when the High Treasurer went to the Court, or to the Parliament, he was preceded by his Serjeant at Arms, as the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker, and the Lord Mayor, are at present; whenever they go in form; but so long as the Treasurership continues in commission this Serjeant will not probably be called to any duty*.

* This office was abolished in 1782. The last Lord High Treasurer was Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury, appointed in 1714, who died in 1717.

OF THE

SERJEANT AT ARMS

Attending the Speaker of the House of Commons.

The next appropriated Serjeant is the Speaker's Serjeant, who has the full pay of those especially belonging to the King, and in fact is one of them who is supposed to officiate in a double capacity. His appointment runs in the following terms, which fully explain the two branches of his office; viz. "to the place or office of one of our Serjeants at Arms in ordinary, to attend upon Our Royal person when there is no Parliament; and at the time of every Parliament, to attend upon the Speaker of the House of Commons, with the wages of three shillings by the day, and of two shillings and six-pence by the day for board-wages."

The other three Serjeants, now before us, belong to offices which never die, or are even suspended: but, when Parliaments were less frequent, there were of course intervals which the King claimed to himself, though it is perhaps from time immemorial that this Serjeant's attendance on the King has been dispensed with. It is to be observed that the King makes no claim of the Serjeant's service on adjournments or prorogations, and only when no Parliament exists; which circumstance shews the antiquity of the appropriation of a Serjeant to this high Officer *.

* The Speakership is as old as King Edward III. at least, as appears from Sir Robert Cotton's Abridgement of the Records; though the Parliamentary History limits the appointment to the reign of King Richard II.

The

The care of the House lies upon the Serjeant as to the provision of necessaries. And the appointment of proper subordinate officers, such as the *House-keeper—Deliverer of the Votes—Door-keeper*, &c. lies in his department; and it is no secret that these places are not, generally speaking, free gifts. For the contingent necessaries, the Serjeant delivers in bills at the Exchequer.

This Serjeant attends upon the Speaker, and precedes him with the Mace on his shoulder, whenever he goes to Parliament, to the King, or to Church, in state. Formerly, when the Speaker went on horseback to the House of Commons, the Serjeant seems to have preceded him on foot; for I find in the journals (anno 23 R. Eliz) upon a motion to the House, the Serjeant, in regard to the infirmities and pains in his feet, was licensed to “ride upon a foot-cloth nag*.” Since coaches came into general use, the Serjeant appropriated to the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker, and the Lord Mayor, respectively, go with them when the state-coach is used, sitting upon stools facing one of the windows, with the head of the Mace projecting out of it: but antiently, when coaches were first introduced, the Speaker’s Mace was carried in the boot of his coach†. It is also to be presumed that the Serjeant rode there with it; for it was not a situation that carried any indignity at the time, as we find that even the Marshals of France in the reign of Henry IV. rode in the boot of the King’s coach‡.

* See the Journals.

† Skinner’s Life of General Monk, p. 203, 2d edit.

‡ Matthew’s Life and Death of Henry IV. edit. 1612. p. 102.

In regard to what affects the Serjeant, functionally, in point of emolument, I am at liberty to say, from the table hanging up in the lobby of the House, that he has fees on every attachment, as other Serjeants have, and always had.

They stand thus, as to attachment, detention of offenders, &c.

	£. s. d.
A Knight. Attachment, ...	5 0 0
A Gentleman. Attachment, ...	3 6 8
Custody, each day, ...	1 0 0
Bringing to the bar, ...	0 6 8
Riding charges <i>per</i> mile, ...	0 0 6

When a Speaker is chosen by the House at the commencement of a Parliament, and proceeds to the House of Peers for the approbation of the King, the Serjeant, a little inclining to the right hand, precedes the new Speaker, with the Mace resting on the elbow of his right arm, to imply that the Speaker is not yet fully confirmed in his office. His train when going to the King is likewise not borne. On the return to the House of Commons, the Speaker's train is borne, and the Mace is carried on the Serjeant's right shoulder, to shew that the Speaker, having been approved, is in full possession of his post. The Royal approbation is at present a matter of course, though the ceremony of the Speaker's depreciating his own abilities is preserved *pro forma*, and is at least as old as the reign of King Henry VIII. when I find it was practised *.

* Hall's Chronicle.

OF THE
SERJEANT AT ARMS

Attending the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

The last appropriated Serjeant that I have mentioned is attendant on the Lord Mayor of London, being a very antient Officer in the retinue of this Magistrate, who long before the reign of King Edward III. had his Serjeants at Arms; for that King on petition (perhaps of the King's Serjeants) representing that the Mayors of some Corporations, instead of Copper Maces, had made use of Maces of Silver, was pleased, to order, that no Serjeants belonging to any corporate body should use silver Maces, except those of the City of London; adding, as a still greater honour, that such Serjeants should be allowed to "carry their Maces of Silver, within the liberties of London, before the Mayor, in the presence of the King*."

This was a very high and exclusive privilege; for none of the Great Officers before-mentioned have the Mace borne in the Royal Presence; and though King Richard II. granted to the Mayor of York the honour of having a Mace borne before him on common occasions within his jurisdiction, yet the grant says that, when the King is present, the Mayor shall bear the Mace himself, in quality of a Serjeant at Arms†. Here we see the Lord Mayor of York himself oc-

* Co. Inst. IV. p. 252.

† Drake's Eboracum. The Mace was granted to the Chief Magistrate of York, by the Title of *Lord Mayor*, by King Richard II. A.D. 1393. [Torr's Antiq. of York]. The same King had in the same year 1389 given his own sword from his side to be borne before the Mayor, and ordered he should be styled from thenceforth *Lord Mayor*. [Torr *ut supra*].

casionally a Serjeant at Arms ; but afterwards in the reign of King Richard III. the Lord Mayor for the time being was actually appointed chief Serjeant at Arms to the King with the fee of £18. 5s. *per annum* (or 1s. *per diem*), the then salary of all the Kings Serjeants*. This, it must be confessed, was an high honour conferred on the Lord Mayor of York ; but at the same time it falls very short of the antient dignity which belonged to the Lord Mayor of London, who had, and hath, I presume, within his jurisdiction, even in the Royal Presence, an Ensign of Royalty preceding him, instead of bearing on his own shoulder a badge of servitude.

This, however, must be understood with some restriction ; for, in the Heraldic account† which lies before me, of the Procession of King Edward VI. from the Tower to his Coronation at Westminster, the Lord Mayor in that ceremonial is found exactly in the situation of a Serjeant at Arms, supporting the principal Officer of Arms, consonant with the Orders of Thomas of Lancaster : for he there goes on the left hand of Garter, carrying a Mace, as he still continues to do in the procession to the Coronation itself, the old form of proceeding from the Tower having always been considered virtually as a part of that ceremonial. The distinction necessary to be made seems to be, that the Lord Mayor in such circumstances is placed in a different view from what is implied in the grant of King Edward III ; for in the Procession, and in all parts of it, the Lord Mayor appears individually,

* This grant to the Lord Mayor of York may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. XII. p. 258.

† See Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. II. p. 311. edit. ult.

and

and is not at the head of the City of London as a corporate body ; whereas the privileges pointed at in the reign of King Edward III. should seem to relate to those occasions where the King is to be received in the City by the Lord Mayor with all his appendages of Magistracy about him.

In a subordinate line of Serjeanty, each Sheriff of London had in the time of Henry III. two Serjeants for the purpose of attachments ; which number was, from necessity I presume, enlarged to sixteen by King Edward IV. (anno 1471) ; and each Serjeant was allowed a Yeoman under him *. These are called Serjeants at Mace †. The post of a Serjeant at Arms in the nature of a tenure, whether of lands or office, though few of them have reached our times, was probably not uncommon, while the number of Serjeants was so great as we have seen it in the reigns of King Edward III. and King Richard II. ; and it appears that a tenure of this sort existed temp. Edw. I. ; for I find that Richard de Carevile held lands in chief of the King, on condition that he should provide a Serjeant at Arms for the service of the King's army for forty days in the Hundred of Ford in the County of Salop ‡.

We have already seen that they attended the King when with his army in the reign of King Henry VII. so that they were not then such mere domestic officers as they may be reputed at present, the King's own Serjeants having now no ministerial or executive offices to perform, being purely pre-

* Brydall's Camera Regis, p. 60.

† The King's Serjeants are sometimes called Serjeants at Mace in ceremonials. Vide Leland, Coll. vol. IV. 298. edit. ult.

‡ blount's Tenures.

served for the purpose of parade at Coronations, when the King goes to Chapel, or to the House of Peers.

Corporate Towns, and many other politic bodies, have at this time some ensign of office appertaining to their Chief, and for the most part it is a Mace * ; for which, presumably, they have a Royal grant, especially if the incorporation is of any considerable antiquity. In more relaxed ages a Mace might be the gift of an individual, like the Collar of the Lord Mayor of London before-mentioned, and, passing at first uncontroverted, might in time grow to be a matter of right. Few of these badges being of modern introduction, the parties cannot be accused of wanton usurpation, and have prescription, at least, in their favour.

Among other incorporated bodies the President of the Royal Society has no less than two Mace-bearers allowed to the office by the charter, dated July 15th, 1662 †. These Maces are of the apparent size with those used by the King's Serjeants, and one of them, it is needless to say, is placed on the table before the President at every periodical meeting ; though, I believe, they are never borne except when any of the Royal Family are introduced as Fellows. The Society at which your Lordship presides has also, by the charter dated Nov. 2, 1751, the liberty of using the Mace, though it has not hitherto been thought proper to exercise that privilege, the little antique Mace lying before your Lordship being deemed more characteristic than any modern introduction of the kind.

* Each Alderman of London has a Mace, and a Beadle to carry it before him when he holds a Wardmote.

† The Charter is printed by Dr. Birch, in his History of the Royal Society.

OF THE BEADLES

in the Universities of OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE.

The Beadles, my Lord, though their functions are diffuse, partake very much of the nature of the Serjeants at Arms in some points, and therefore fall collaterally under the general subject of this memoir.

Glossarists seem to agree that they have their name from the Anglo-Saxon *Býdel*, *Præco*, an apparitor, which accords very well with one branch of the office, that of executing the mandates and precepts of the Chancellor, or Vice-Chancellor, in summoning persons to the performance of certain public exercises in the Universities. The antiquity of these posts goes very high, for Dr. Ayliffe says they are mentioned in the archives of Oxford before the reign of King Henry III. which commenced A. D. 1216. They are not officers peculiar to our own Universities; for Roger Ascham observes in the reign of our King Henry VIII. that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Louvaine was attended by his *Bedels*.

It is not my province to enlarge upon those duties of the Beadles that are purely academical, except where they come in contact with the Serjeants at Arms; and on this ground will advert first to one circumstance which has occurred in the course of the preceding memoir, where it has been seen that, on the trial of a Peer, the Serjeant at Arms, appropriated for the occasion to the Lord High Steward, is by his office obliged to summon all the Peers to attend; which part of this Serjeant's duty approaches very near to the office of a Beadle in the Universities.

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The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor being Civil Magistrates, and invested with judicial powers within their jurisdiction, the Beadles are employed by them to attach disorderly persons of every kind who offend against the laws, with penalties of dismissal for refusal or neglect on the part of the Beadles. Herein they correspond with the office of a Serjeant at Arms to the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, &c.

In the mode of appointment, however, the Beadles differ from the Serjeants very widely; for the latter have always been either in the King's own nomination, or under the patronage of some high officer, as at present they are in the department of the Lord Chamberlain; whereas the Beadles, at Oxford at least (on Dr. Ayliffe's authority), are elective by the body of the University in Convocation.

These two Officers approximate again in the article of rank; for the Beadles are also Esquires by virtue of their posts; and in Oxford, where there are two orders, they are distinguished into *Esquire* Beadles and *Yeomen* Beadles: which last, I conceive, have their operations in a subordinate line, like the Serjeants at Mace in the City of London. At Cambridge there is now but one order of the three Esquire Beadles. These are appropriated one to each faculty in certain functions, though they all collectively appertain to the state of the head of the University: so likewise, though the Serjeants at Arms are all in the King's service, yet are some of them appropriated to particular destinations. It has appeared farther, that the antient Serjeants were chosen out of persons
of

of competent rank, seldom below the son of a Knight ; and thus collaterally the Beadles cannot be elected from any class below a Master of Arts, or a corresponding degree, which may be considered as equal to a certain order of gentility in general life.

The Insignia of Office appertaining to the Beadles, as also their places in public processions, had antiently strong resemblances to those of the Serjeants at Arms. I do not discover that the former ever bore a Mace ; but that their badge ever was (as it is now) a silver staff carried erect before the Chancellor, or his representative, on solemn occasions, within the precincts of the University.

We have seen also that the antient Serjeants at Arms attended *bare-headed* on the Sovereign ; so likewise did the Beadles on the Chancellors of the Universities whenever they appeared in state. Thus A. D. 1564, when Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of Cambridge, previous to the Queen's visit, went out to meet Lord Robert Dudley, the High Steward, the Beadles preceded him *bare-headed*. The Beadles had on every day during the Queen's stay at Cambridge a table provided for them. These two circumstances square much with the Serjeants at Arms in both points. It ought to be observed that even at this day a Serjeant at Arms, bearing the Mace, is never covered, even *al fresco*.

The Beadles on the above occasion delivered up their staves to the Chancellor, who presented them to the Queen : but this was no more than a surrender of their power as a branch of Civil Magistracy, which was merged in the presence of the

the Queen, who re-delivered them. The same was done of course at Oxford, when the Queen afterwards visited that University. The office of Chancellor did not cease during the presence of the Queen, although its judicial powers were suspended for a moment until the Queen returned the staves to the Beadles. This question, if there is any doubt, was solved by Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of Cambridge, on the Queen's visit; for, when her Majesty urged him to make a speech to the University on her behalf, as being *her* Chancellor; he replied, that he was not her Chancellor, but the Chancellor of the University.

The escort of the Serjeants, as we have observed, does not extend to the interior apartments of the Court beyond the Presence Chamber: thus also when the Queen had taken up her residence at the Lodge of the Provost of King's College, the Beadles were instructed, that, on conducting the Chancellor to the Queen, they were to stop at the Porch of the Lodge. Within this boundary all the apartments were to be considered as the Privy-Chamber in the Court.

In a procession wherein the Officers of the Court and of the University were blended together, it will be natural to look for the parties before us; where, to prove the approximation of these two bodies of Gentlemen, it is observable that when Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford two years afterwards (1566), the three Esquire Beadles attended on the Queen's person as oft as she went abroad in state, and had place next below the Serjeants at Arms. They had a similar rank at Cambridge, when the Queen went publicly to Church, and walked very
near

near to the Sword of State, they being transferred from the Chancellor's retinue to that of the Queen.

These few observations are sufficient to shew the similitude between the Serjeants at Arms and the Beadles in their primary line. They also preserve some farther resemblance in their descendants, among whom we may rank the Serjeants at Mace, and the Beadles belonging to subordinate public bodies, without reflecting in any degree on the principals.

With many thanks for the indulgence of being heard so long on this uninteresting subject by the Society, I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your Lordship's

obliged and most obedient Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE, JUNIOR.

January 22, 1787.

ADDITIONS TO THE CURIALIA ;

(From the Author's interleaved Copy.)

PART I. ESQUIRES OF THE KING'S BODY.

P. 8. *note*, l. 4. *add*, The names of these Esquires were, *Delves*, *Dalton*, *Foulburst*, and *Hawkeston*. Lord Audley farther enjoined them to bear, in some part of their coat-armour, his own atchievement, viz. "Gules, a fret Or;" and which they still retain. See Mr. Pennant's Journey from Chester to London, 1782, 4to, p. 42.

P. 13. *add as a note*, They are called, in some part of that book, "Scutiferarii pro Corpore Regis."

P. 14. l. 26. *add as a note*, The Esquire of the Body was to carry the King's *Mantle* on Twelfth-day; and none else, except Church-men, were allowed even to touch it. See the Orders of Henry VII. in Museo Bibl. Harl. N° 642.—As to the *Holy Water*, l. 21, see also the Orders anno 9 Hen. VII. in the same MS.

P. 15. *note*, l. 7. *add*, As also for removing such things where the Table was to be cleared or *voided* of them [v. Introduction to Mr. Malone's Shakspeare, Part II. of Vol. I. p. 128. in a note.] This was probably the primitive use of the *Tray*, or *Voider*.

P. 17. *Add to the second note*, Extracted from N° XII. of the Books in the Office, p. 65. This volume, I am told, has since been missing; but my extracts were made at the Office, and in the presence of Mr. Wilmot; nor ever had I any Book or MS. out of the Office.

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P. 20.

P. 20. *note 2. add*, Great Flagons are mentioned in Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 227.

P. 21. *note 1. add*, This is fully explained in a note on Act IV. Sc. 5. in the edition of Shakspeare by Dr. Johnson and Mr. Steevens, 1778.—The Earl of Shaftesbury, coming from the country to the court, writes to a servant in London to provide *Pallets* for some of his Folks that were to be about him. Mr. Lodge's Illustrations of British History, Vol. II. p. 284.

Ibid. note 2. Two were ordered to write at a time by the Earl of Manchester when he was Lord Chamberlain, from 1660 to 1671.

P. 24. l. *ult. add*, Which I have since presented to the British Museum.

P. 28. l. 8. *add*, And again at the coronation of Anne (Bolleyne).—“At the Quene's feete under the table fatte ii Gentlewomen all dyner time.” Hall's Chronicle, fol. 216. b.

P. 35. l. 8. Sir Francis was of the family feated at Ottley, in the parish of Ellesmere, in Shropshire, which had been their property at least since the year 1308, temp. Edw. II. See Mr. Pennant's Tour in North Wales.

P. 37. l. 18. *Camerarius Regine. Domino Will'o Warino militi pro Corpore Regine* percipienti de eadem Dominâ Reginâ pro feodo suo x marcas per annum pro hujusmodi feodo suo à Feste Sancti Michaelis anno xxvi^o, per unum annum integrum, et per manus proprias, vi li. xiii s. iv d. [Paper Office.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE KING'S PRIVY CHAMBER.

P. 42. l. 11. So long as *Gyenne* was under the dominion of the English, it was represented by a Substitute at Coronations. [V. Acta Regia, p. 97. temp. Edw. II.]

P. 44.

P. 44. l. 15. They antiently attended with the corpse; for, when the body of King Henry VIII. lay in state, it was attended day and night, among other Officers, by *Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber*. [Strype's Memorials, II. p. 10.]

These Gentlemen bore the Canopy likewise at Royal Christenings, when they were performed in state; as was done at the Baptism of King Edward VI. by *six* of the King's Privy Chamber. [Strype's Memorials, II. p. 3. But see this memoir, *postea*, p. 56.]

They bore the Canopy at St. George's Feast; as was done by *twelve* of them, anno 15 Car. I. [V. Ashmole, p. 502.]

P. 43. l. 16. Q. What mourning was allowed in former reigns?

Ibid. l. 20. The same reason operates with the *Esquires* of the *Knights* of the *Bath*, whereby some persons have degraded themselves for this protection; as did Sir William Dudley, Bart. who was one of the Esquires to (Fortescue) Lord Clinton; and Sir Thomas Samwell, Esquire to Sir William Stanhope, 1725, at the revival of the Order: for a Baronet is of superior rank to a Knight of the Bath.

P. 47. l. 8. The following is an appointment at that time:

(L. S.) "Præfens hoc scriptum testatur Gulielmum Kingsleium Armigerum juratum et admissum fuisse in munus et officium Generosi extraordinarii Conclavis Regii; vi cujus officii omnibus privilegiis et juribus quæ ad id pertinent frui debet. Corpus ejus, nisi veniâ prius habitâ et obtentâ, non est comprehendendum et detinendum: nullus ei magistratus gerendus est: non inter criminum quæstiores, aut juratos arbitros est conscribendus; nec comitiis provincialibus et concessibus concionibus adesse citandus; quo causam ministerii Regii negligendi possit contingere. Quâ-propter omnes et singulos veto ni libertatem et privilegia dicti Gulielmi Kingsleii violent, ut suo periculo contrarium fiet. Datum sub manu meâ et sigillo, die vicesimo-quinto Februarii, anno 1662, et decimo-quinto Regis regni.

"E. MANCHESTER,"
[Cubicularius Regis.]

P. 52. l. 11. There were also *Four* who were styled *Principal* or *Chief* Gentlemen, who were generally of more elevated rank, and had also superior salaries. Thus, 1552, Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Duke of Northumberland, was made one of the *Four Principal* Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber. [Strype's Memorials, II. p. 361.] He was also Keeper of the King's Wardrobe. [Id. in eod.] See Strype again, pp. 460. 517.

In Strype's Memorials, II. 514. is a "Warrant to the Cofferer and Clerk of the Household to pay to Henry Sidney, admitted one of the Chief Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber in the Lord D'Arcy's room, 100*l.* a year, payable quarterly." See also, p. 520; *de quo Quære?*

P. 54. l. 12. The Dean of Carlisle [Dr. Percy, now Bishop of Dromore], in a letter dated Oct. 29, 1780, says, "I find by an extract I formerly made from a full and authentic MS. copy of Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Woolsey, that when the Cardinal would not yield to the arrest of the Earl of Northumberland, he said to Walter *Welsh* (so the name is spelt) 'I trowe ye are one of the King's Privie Chamber, your name is Welsh; I am content to yield to yow, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, without I see his commission: and alsoe yow are a sufficient Commissioner in that behalfe, inasmuch as ye be one of the King's Privie Chamber: for the worst there is a sufficient warrant to arrest the greatest Peere of this Realme by the King's only Commandment without any Commission.'"

Mr. Walsh (for that is the true name), I think the Dean of Carlisle told me, was of a Worcestershire family.

My printed copy differs a little from the above-cited MS. and does not go so far. Mr. Walsh was probably known to the Cardinal, and therefore employed on this occasion in case of a refusal to surrender to the Earl.

Ibid. l. 15. Another term for them was *Privy-chamber-men* [v. Osborne's Works; and the Ordinances of King Charles I.] In the female
line

line we find also that the last wife of the Marquis of Northampton, before her marriage, was called *Privy-Chamberlain* to Queen Elizabeth. [See the Ceremonial of her Funeral in Bibl. Top. Brit. XVII. p. 7.]

P. 55. l. 2. There is a passage in Hall's Chronicle [Hen. VIII. fol. 68.] wherein the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber are charged with using too great familiarity.

P. 56. The late J. C. Brooke, Esq. in a letter on this passage, says, "I cannot find any other baptism but that of Edward VI., where Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber supported the Canopy. At that of Prince Arthur is the following concerning the Canopy :

"Then came my Lady Cicely, the Queen's eldest sister, bearing the
 "Prynce, wrapped in a mantell of crymesyn clothe of golde furred with
 "Ermyne, with a trayne which was borne by my Lady the Marquess
 "of Dorset ; and Sir John Cheyny supported the myddill of the same ;
 "and the Lorde Edward Wodeville, the Lord Lavarre, the sone and
 "heyr of the Lorde Audley, and Sir John of Arundel, bare the
 "Canopye." M. 6. fol. 28. b. in Coll. Armor.

The Canopy borne over Queen Elizabeth at her baptism was supported by the Lords Rochford and Hussy, Lord William Howard, and Lord Thomas Howard.

P. 58. l. ult. The precedence of the *Ladies of the Privy-Chamber* appears from the Coronation of King James I. and his Queen : which ceremonial may be seen in the College of Arms.

P. 59. At the arrival and entertainments of the Ambassador Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella, with his associate Mr. Blake, from the High and Mighty Prince Mulley Mahamed Sheque Emperor of Morocco, King of Tefse and Sufs, 1637 ; they were attended to their audience by *Twelve* Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty, on brave horses, with foot-cloths, riding *.

* From a printed account in the British Museum.

P. 68. *Note 3. add*, For the Royal Apartments at the Tower, see Mr. Walpole's "Historic Doubts."

P. 69. l. 3. King Charles I. entered Whitehall from St. James's by this staircase on the day of his execution. Gordon's "Lives and Trials," vol. III. p. 469.

Ibid. notes, l. 7. The order from the Treasury for taking it down was dated June 21, 1759.

Aldgate, when taken down, was purchased by Ebenezer Muffell, Esq. and re-erected adjoining to his house at Bethnal-Green. Lysons's *Environs*, II. 32.

The obelisk erected at Hammersmith by Lord Melcombe in memory of his wife has, since his death, been removed, and placed in the Earl of Aylesbury's Park, at Tottenham in Wiltshire, in remembrance of the recovery of King George III. from a phrenzy, 1789. Lysons's *Environs*, II. 403.

Carfax Conduit, when taken down a few years ago, was re-erected in the same form in the pleasure-grounds, or park, of the Earl of Harcourt, at Newnham.

An inscription also perpetuates the memory of his uncle Charles of Aylesbury and Elgin, who procured for him the barony of Bruce, and left to him these estates; and likewise expresses his gratitude to King George III. who, unsolicited, created him an Earl 1776.

P. 69, Sir Thomas Grantham of Batavia-house, at Sunbury, Middlesex, Knight, was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Esquire of the Body to King William and Queen Mary, and was continued in the first office, and was Esquire of the Body *pro illâ vice* at least to Queen Anne at her coronation.—Had been a Director of Greenwich Hospital.—His father was Mr. Thomas Grantham of Riffiter, *alias* Burncester, in Oxfordshire, who was killed at the siege of Oxford 1645, on the King's side. His grandfather was Mr. Richard Grantham, descended of an antient family in Lincolnshire. Sir Thomas was bred to the sea, and performed

performed good service in North America ; for which, and some others afterwards, he received a gold chain and medal of great value from King Charles II. He fitted out a ship to the East Indies at the King's special recommendation (1612) to the India Company ; the King and the Duke of York, then High Admiral, were present at the launch, and named the ship *The Charles the Second*, and knighted him on board his own ship at Deptford, Feb. 18, 1682-3. He received another gold chain and medal from King James II. He obtained an addition to his arms, and an alteration in his crest, by grant from Sir Henry St. George, Garter, and John Vanbrugh, Esq. Clarencieux, dated the 27th of July, anno 10 Annæ, 1711; which grant, with large recitals of the above circumstances, is *penes Patrem meum*, MS. L. p. 72.

P A R T II.

GENTLEMEN PENSIONERS.

P. 13. l. 15. for "*our* horsemen," read "*one* horseman."—The French term is *Destriez*. *Destrez* for *Destriez*, i. e. Great Horses, are mentioned in the will of the Black Prince. See p. 68. among the Royal Wills, published by J. Nichols, 1780. 4to.

P. 14. note, l. 1. After Cotgrave, add, When the Emperor Charles V. passed the Elbe, 1547, each trooper had a foot-soldier behind him. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. III. 8vo. p. 436.

P. 21. note, l. ult. and in p. 22. l. 25. Expunge, " See the following Memoir."

P. 23. note, l. ult. Add, " It has never appeared to me that the Brownes Viscounts Montague had any grant of a Coat of Arms. There are families who bear arms by prescription from their ancestors, of whom theirs is one.—Grants of Arms seem to have been introduced with trade into this country, to distinguish the *Novi Homines* from the antient Gentry; and we have a power in chapter, with the concurrence of the King of Arms, to allow Arms without grant, as I think was the case of your's.—The antient Crest of Browne was a clump of the fox-glove plant in flower; their present Crest, an eagle Vert, I take it, was assumed upon their marriage with the coheir of Nevile Marquis Montague, alluding to the coat of Monthermer.

Yours, &c. J. C. BROOKE, Somerset, Jan. 7, 1784."

P. 25. l. 2. Sir Anthony Browne was Captain when the Eltham Statutes were made, A. D. 1526. See the Volume of Household Ordinances published by the Society of Antiquaries, 1790, 4to. p. 163.

P. 35.

P. 35. *note 3. add*, See a note by Mr. Steevens on a passage in Cymbeline, Act V. Sc. 3.

P. 41. l. *ult. add*, More particulars of the reception and departure of the Queen Dowager of Scotland may be seen in Drake's Anglo-Scotica, p. 410.

P. 49. *note. l. ult. add*, On the information of the Hon. Stephen Digby (brother to Lord Digby), Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, 1782. Dr. Ducarel had a stained drawing from this Painting.

P. 50. *add to last note*, See Holinshed, vol. II. p. 1839.

P. 59. l. 20. The words are, "He [King James] brought with him a crew of necessitous hungry Scots, and filled every corner of the Court with these hungry Blew-Caps." [Id. in eod.]

P. 60. l. 23. *Sir Stephen Hatton* was appointed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, July 30, 1572. Holinshed, p. 1864. where he is then styled *Christopher Hatton, Esq.*

Ibid. note 2. Expunge, "See the following Dissertation."

Ibid. note 3. add, Made Lord Chancellor 1587. [Stowe]. He died in possession of the Great Seal, 1591. [Lives of the Chancellors.]

P. 62. *note, l. 4. add*, There is a print of this Thomas Percy, engraved by Crispin Pafs, which is described by Ames, p. 130. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. V. p. 41. who says it is very rare; he adds, there is also a print in quarto of the Seven Conspirators.

P. 65. l. 13. Sir Henry Mynne (of Rutland) was knighted by King James, at Windsor, 1629. [Philipot's Catalogue of Knights made by King James.]

P. 66. l. 6. There was a Knight of these names made by King Charles I. at Whitehall, 1625; who seems to have been of the family seated at the White Friars in Coventry, and was afterwards the first Baronet of that branch by creation, 1660. See *Walkley's Catalogue of Knights*; and the *Baronetages*, in which his Knighthood does not appear.

Ibid. *after* l. 7. *add*, The Band is now (1782) paid quarterly, by a Warrant from the Pell-office, in consequence of a Cheque-roll or order signed by the Captain. The Paymaster receives 1500*l.* a quarter, out of which 13 guineas, on each payment, is deducted on the part of the Auditor, together with 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* to the Clerk of the Pells. The first deduction seems to have been originally 20 marks, or 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* reduced to guineas; and of the latter the 1*l.* has the appearance of a fee to the Clerk of the Pells; and the 2*s.* 6*d.* of a gratuity to the Deputy Clerk, who writes out the Warrant.

P. 72. l. *ult.* The Deputy here meant is, the *Gentleman Harbinger*, whose oath to this day runs, "You shall give your attendance in the absence of the Clerk of the Cheque, *as his Deputy*, &c." See more of this in the Memoirs of Thomas Stapley, mentioned p. 125.

P. 76. l. 10. *read*, "*Thomas Wentworth*."

Ibid. l. 20. See Appendix. III. p. 119.

P. 77. l. 17—19. *Expunge all between* "in general" and "except;" and see Appendix. III. p. 121.

P. 90. l. 9. The venality of public offices in France was carried to a great length in the reign of Louis XIV. though the offices of justice were preserved sacred; but in the reign of Francis I. even those were sold. [P. Daniel, tom. V. p. 8. edit. 1720.]

Ibid. l. 15. The average prices, in cases of Transfer, are as follows:

The Lieutenantcy, 6000*l.*

The Standard-bearership, 3000*l.*

The office of Clerk of the Cheque, 1500*l.*

The Paymastership, . . .

The post of a Gentleman Pensioner, 1000*l.*

The Harbingership, 500*l.*

The office of Axe-keeper, a Messenger, and Chamber-keeper, 550*l.*

Philip Cade, esq. was appointed Paymaster in July 1765 (supposed in trust), and he seems to have died in the post, in 1799.

P. 97.

P. 97. l. 27. By the words of his oath he is sworn, "To serve the King's Majesty in the room (or place) of Gentleman-Harbinger." From hence I collect that he was originally considered as one of his Majesty's *Gentlemen-Harbingers* in Ordinary appointed to the use and service of the *Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners*; in the same manner as those *Serjeants at Arms* are, whose attendance is appropriated to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, &c. all of whom are sworn Serjeants in Ordinary to the King.

Mr. Stapley, mentioned hereafter, p. 125. who had been Harbinger, and became afterwards Clerk of the Cheque, has left the following minute, dated 1633, and preserved in an old Order-Book; *viz.* "That the *Gentleman-Harbinger* hath from the King *Twelve Pence per diem* for waiting instead of the Clerk of the Cheque, and as his *Deputy*; and, in the absence or vacancy of the Clerk of the Cheque, hath *sworn in* the Gentlemen-Pensioners; and that *he* did it when he was *Gentleman-Harbinger*." This is specified in the oath now taken by the Harbinger.

"You shall give your attendance, in the absence of the Clerk of the Cheque, as his *Deputy*, in the Presence Chamber; and there to take notice of such Gentlemen-Pensioners as ought to give their attendance; and to make true certificate thereof to the Clerk of the Cheque, and of their daily appearance."

P. 98. l. 12. Each Gentleman gives one pound *per annum*.

The Clerk of the Cheque and the Harbinger give the same. The Captain and Lieutenant do not contribute; but give two guineas at Christmas *ex gratiâ*. The Gentlemen likewise give ten shillings each to him as Chamber-keeper. The Chamber is a room allowed them to dress in.

Ibid. l. 24. These Proclamations, among others, were printed by authority, 1609; of which I have a copy.

Ibid. notes, l. 5. *Expunge* "in the Captain's disposal."—It is nevertheless true, as appears from the Minute-books of the Band; though Lord Berkeley, on a vacancy by death during his command, complimented

mented the Gentlemen with the appointment, 1760. It seems but reasonable, however, that those who pay this Officer should have the nomination. In the above case, the Clerk of the Cheque notified by letter to each Gentleman, that, "the Lord Berkeley has generously given the Gentlemen leave to nominate any person they shall all agree upon."

P. 100. l. 23. From some Minutes left us by Thomas Stapley, Esq. *Clerk of the Cheque*, in the reign of King Charles I. and dated 1633, to be seen in an old Order Book of the Band, we are told that the *Officers* and *Gentlemen* were formerly sworn into their respective places by the Captain; but that in his time they were sworn by the *Clerk of the Cheque*; "for," says he, "it was so ordered by the Lords in the High Court of Star Chamber, that they should not be sworn by any other, in the case of my Lord of Northumberland being questioned about the swearing of Thomas Percy who was in the Powder-Plot." Mr. Stapley had certainly been misled in this particular; for, in the reign immediately preceding the Plot, we find by the Ordinances of Queen Elizabeth, that the oath was administered by the *Clerk of the Cheque*, and a fee for it ascertained. See p. 54. *antea*.

N. B. The order of King Charles I. of the above year (1633) only says, "The accustomed oath shall be taken." See before, p. 73.

P. 105. l. 9. On such occasions they are allowed a table in Windsor-Castle, and have each 6s. 8d. for travelling-charges on the day of their removal, and the same for the day of their return. The Clerk of the Cheque and the Harbinger are included. So it was at the Installation, 1771. The Axes were formerly sent in the King's Barge by an order from the Clerk of the Cheque, as appears by the Order-Book, temp. Annæ Regina: but they are now conveyed in a caravan, under the charge of the Axe-keeper.

Ibid. *note*, l. *ult.* After "Lieutenant of the Band," add, "Robert Goodyere, Esq."

P. 106.

P. 106. *note.* After "Clerk of the Cheque," *add*, "William Daffe," Esq."

P. 109. l. 22. There is reason to think that the Earl held the Post 30 years; for King Henry married Anne of Cleves in January 1540; and his Lordship was killed by a fall from a horse, which he was attempting to manage in his park, in March following. [See Godwin's Annals of King Henry VIII.]

P. 110. l. 14. Ob. July 23, 1596, æt. 71. Inscriptio Tumuli, apud Westm. [v. Stowe's Survey.]

P. 111. l. 9. He was the second Earl. There is a portrait of him, by Sir Peter Lely, at Hatfield. See his character in Lord Clarendon's History, and more of him in Mr. Pennant's Journey from Chester to London, 1782, p. 404. Ob. 1668, æt. 78.

Ibid. l. 12. In a MS Procession of the Coronation of King Charles II. the Viscount Grandison appears as Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. It was drawn up by Sir Edward Walker, Garter; and I saw it in the possession of Mr. Barach Longmate, 1787.

Ibid. l. 13. *Thomas* [not *Henry*] Wentworth, Earl of Cleveland, died without issue, March 13, 1657-8.

Ibid. l. 20. Wentworth Earl of Roscommon was the second Earl, and the Poet. [See Dr. Johnson's Life of him.]

Sir John Bennett, K. B. was (according to Collins's Peerage of 1735) first made Lieutenant, and afterwards Captain of the Band; and was created Baron of Offulston, 1682. Ob. 1688.

P. 112. l. 17. *Add*, June 21, 1731, Gazette; where the appointment is said to be in the name of the Duke of Devonshire, who was made Lord Privy Seal June 12 in that year. If Collins's Peerage of 1735 be correct, the Earl of Tankerville should come in here from 1731 till 1733. The Gentleman's Magazine (in June 1733) says that *Lord Monjon* succeeded the Earl of Burlington.

P. 122. l. 24. In the List of all the King's Forces, mentioned in a note p. 77. to have been made 1684, the Pensioners are given by name, with their

their Officers, Forty in number ; but there is not the least intimation as to the Gentlemen *Extraordinary*. The above List is (1787) in the possession of Francis Grose, Esq.

Patronage of the GENTLEMEN PENSIONERS.

Captain *.	The King.
Lieutenant.	The King.
Ensign.	The King.
Clerk of the Cheque.	
The Gentlemen.	The Captain †.

* Sworn by the Clerk of the Cheque.

† These Officers receive the Staff from the King, on kissing hands.

PART

P A R T III.

YEOMEN OF THE GUARD.

P. 5. THE epitaph on Thomas Hawkins is given at length by the Rev. Philip Parsons, in his (Kentish) "Monuments," &c. 1794, p. 86.

P. 20. *notes*, l. 5. A ludicrous story is related of the Earl of Portland (Weston) when Lord Treasurer, by Lord Clarendon, vol. I. pp. 47. 54, 8vo.

P. 55. l. 11. *add*, I myself remember the circumstances. S. P.

P. 58. *note*, l. 11. *add*, I think I have been told that the *word* was changed on one of the days during the Riots in 1780. S. P.

P. 60. l. 17. After Groom, *add*, i. e. of the Great Chamber.

P. 83. Four of the Messengers in Ordinary wait in rotation:

P. 89. *note*. John Broughton was afterwards the celebrated boxer. He died in 1789.

P. 123. Sir Christopher Musgrave.] One may be led into the same error by the inscription on the monument (in St. Dunstan's in the West) in memory of Mary Colclough, the daughter of Colonel Blagge, there stated to have been *Captain* of the *Yeomen of the Guard*; whereas it appears, from his own monument in Westminster Abbey, that he was only a Colonel in the Guards, "*Cohortis Stipatorum Tribunus*." See for the first inscription the "New View of London," I. p. 235. and for the latter "Crull's Antiquities of Westminster Abbey."

P. 133. Patronage of the Yeomen.

Captain *	The King.
Lieutenant *,	The King.
Ensign *,	The King.
Clerk of the Cheque *,	The King.
The Four Exons †.	The Captain.

* These officers receive the staff from the King on kissing hands; and are sworn by the Lord Chamberlain.

† Sworn by the Captain; from whom they receive the staff at the time.

O

Expence.

Expencc to the Crown, besides Livery, Caps, Diet, Partifans.

per ann. (Grosf.)

Captain,	}	£.	s.	d.
Lieutenant,		1950	0	0
Ensign,				
Clerk of the Cheque,				
Four Exons,		600	0	0
Yeomen (100)		539	1	3
Yeomen Hangers and Bed-Goers (Eight)		80	0	0
Superannuated Men, at 25 £. (Four),		100	0	0
Exempts (Two) at 20 £.		40	0	0
Ushers (Extra Pay) Eight,		80	0	0
Watch-Coats for the Yeomen,		100	0	0
Ushers,		80	0	0
Messenger and Chamber-Keeper,		£. 3569		
			1	3
Forty Wardens, at 14d. <i>per diem</i> ,		851	13	4
Watch-Gowns,		40	0	0
		£. 891		
			13	4

Clerk of the Cheque, Grosf Salary, £.120.

Articles of the Livery, *per annum*, to the Yeomen and Wardens.

(Extracted from the Warrant.)

Coats, 140; Breeches, 140; Bonnets, 140; Stockings, 140 pairs;
Swords, 140; Waist Belts, 140; Carbine Belts, 50; Buckskin
Gloves, 140 pairs.

PART

P A R T V.

SERJEANTS AT ARMS.

P. 4. l. 24. *read find.*

P. 10. l. 24. "A late writer"] *add*, Observations touching the Antiquity and Degree of Serjeant at Law, published by E. W. [i. e. Edward Wynne, Serjeant at Law], 1765. The Editor professes not to have been the Author. The occasion on which this book was written appears from its preamble, and is not to our present purpose.

P. 11. l. 6. "Serve his turn,"] *add*, Wynne, p. 20. The writers cited for this story are, Chauncey, p. 76. Whitelock, p. 347. Matthew Paris. [For the citation, *v. Spelman*, in voce *Ccisa*.]

P. 12. l. 5. The authorities are, Ordinances for festival days, temp. Hen. VII. in British Museum, Bibl. Harl. N. 642. See also the Ordinances of apparel of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Dorset; and also, Vincent's Precedents in Off. Arm.

Ibid. l. 16. "Shoulders." See Hall's Chronicle, Hen. VIII. p. 216.

P. 13. l. 25. "Feasts of the year." *Add*, Ordinances temp. Edw. IV. N. 642. Bibl. Harl. article, *Counting-house*.

P. 24. Serjeants at Arms are mentioned in Accounts of the Expences of the army of Edward I. anno 28; where they are called "Serjeantes ad Arma de Hospitio Regis Edwardi."

Allowances for Robes, temp. Edw. I. & Edw. II.

[from the Paper Office.]

Clerici Garderobæ,	8 marks.
Clerici Regis,	4 marks.
Clerici de Capellâ Regis,	4 marks.
Physicus et Surgicus Regis,	4 marks.

O 2.

Other

Other Officers there mentioned are,

Porter and Under Porters, 1 mark and 20 shillings in the Summer;
2 marks and 20 shillings in the Winter.

Serjeants and Valetts of the Marshall.

Serjeants of the Pantry, Batty, and Napery;

Serjeants of the Kitchen.

Serjeants Aulæ Regis.

Valets, Chapel, Almonry, Ewry, Chandlery.

Garciones (Footmen.)

Valetti Garderobæ.

—— de Camerâ Regis.

Nuncii.

Serjeants at Arms.

Falconers.

P. 28. l. 16. "King of Arms."] Lancaster was the title of the premier King of Arms at this time. Anstis's Register of the Garter, II. p. 301. and Weever. The office of Garter was not erected till the year 1422, after the death of Thomas of Lancaster, who was killed at the battle of Baugy, 1420. Sandford, p. 279.

Ibid. l. ult. "High Steward."] This, I apprehend, means the Steward of the Household; for Thomas of Lancaster was High Steward or Great Seneschal of England himself; an officer who, as I conceive, had no concern or jurisdiction within the private apartments, at least with respect to the King's table. Henry VIII. changed the name of *Steward* of the *Houſhold*, by statute anno regni 32, Cap. 39. to that of *Great Master* of the *Houſhold*, which title of *Steward* was afterwards restored by Queen Mary, and repeals expressly the above act of Henry VIII. The *Master* of the *Houſhold* here mentioned is a subordinate officer to the Steward of the Household, and now in being.

P. 30. l. 10. "Master of the Household"] Whose office seems at that time to have been, to proceed before the said dishes to the King's table, supported by Serjeants at Arms.

P. 40. l. 24. "Magnitude."] The maces at this time are of different weights, and made in four different reigns; *viz.*

					oz.	dwt.
C. R. (the senior Serjeant's Mace)	-	-	-	-	257	
C. II. R.	-	-	-	-	318	15
C. II. R.	-	-	-	-	296	15
J. R.	-	-	-	-	325	5
J. R.	-	-	-	-	317	15
W. M.	-	-	-	-	307	5
W. M.	-	-	-	-	305	5
W. M.	-	-	-	-	287	5

It looks as if the Maces were intended to be renewed on the Coronation of James II; but the Lords Committees agreed they should serve again as they then were; *v.* Sandford, p. 9. Probably they had regard to the intended retrenchment, by which they were reduced to eight.

P. 42. At the christening of the princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. in Leland, vol. IV. p. 256. "Before them [went] the "officers of armes, as Heraudys, Sergentys at Armes, & Pursuivants "on every side the procession." From which it should seem as if the Serjeants at Arms were formerly a branch of the Heralds' office: and they seem to be of an heraldic nature, for their collar, and the manner of their creation, is the same as that of the Heralds; *viz.* their being, when made with ceremony, invested by the King's hands with a collar of SS. which dubs them Esquires for ever.

P. 44. "When the corpse of Prince Arthur was removed from Ludlow to London, the Officers of Arms, and the Serjeants of Arms bearing the banners, rode behind." Leland, vol. V. p. 377.

Ibid. "At the christening of Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward VI. the Serjeants at Arms had warning to repair, doing Knight's service." Leland's Collectanea, vol. II. p. 672.

P. 44. "At the coronation of Edward VI. in the procession from the Tower to the Palace at Westminster, the Serjeants at Arms, with their Maces, went on either side the way, immediately before the Sword." Leland, vol. IV. p. 311.

P. 45. King James was met, on his accession, at Stamford-hill, near London, by the Serjeants at Arms, and all the English Heralds: [which seems as if the Serjeants were of the Body of Heralds; which, being a College, did not dissolve, as the Household would do, at the death of Queen Elizabeth.] Stowe's Annals, p. 823.

P. 59. If the account of Mr. La Serre, and the History of London, be not the truth, the Aldermen who have passed the chair might wear their chains under the Statute 3 Edw. IV.

P. 66. It may be necessary to observe, that the Chancellor, and his Officers, once formed a part of the King's Household. The MS. now before me says, that "in antient time in the King's Palace there was a place for the Chancellor and Clerks, such as were employed about writs or process, and the Seal; and they were accounted of the King's Household in Ordinary; and had allowed them from the King both diet and apparel." "Afterwards," says the same MS. "in the reign of King Edward III. the Chancellor, &c. and the Society of Clerks, upon certain politic considerations, were severed from the King's Household in Ordinary; and all the Clerks of the Chancery, during the reigns of the said King Edward III. and many succeeding Kings, had their Diet and Apparel in the Chancellor's house, of the allowance of the King, as by a copy of the record in part here following in part may appear." Then follows in the MS. an abstract of the Letters Patent de anno 51 regni Regis Edw. III. MS. p. 228.

Among the old patents granted by the King to the Chancery was one to the Serjeant at Arms, who had Lodgings and Diet in the Chancellor's house, or an allowance in lieu of it, in common with other officers, together with a Horse-keeper and a servant; and when the Chancellor

went

went on a journey on the King's business, they had allowances for their horses. It is however expressly said, that at other times their horses were kept at their own charge. Hence appears the reason why the Chancellor's Serjeant at Arms has not an allowance from the King in lieu of diet, viz. 2s. 6d. *per diem*, as the other Serjeants have, but merely the salary of 3s. *per diem*. [Q. If he is allowed board wages by the Lord Chancellor?] He has no fees arising from the Seal.

A doubt seems to have arisen, seemingly in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whether the Lord Chancellor had a right to a Serjeant at Arms; but a record was produced, made in the third and fourth year of Philip and Mary, shewing the appointment of a Serjeant to attend the Chancellor by Letters Patent, with all fees, and a salary of 12d. *per diem*. This question seems to have been agitated in a court of Common Law; and the decision was made unanimously, by all the Judges of the Court, in favour of the Chancellor; for "Wray, Chief Justice*, and all the Court said, that for so much as the Chancellor of England, or Keeper of the Great Seal, is but the King's deputy (*durante beneplacito suo*), therefore the service by the said Serjeant at Arms done to the Deputy of the King is, in law, done to the King himself." MS. p. 236. Coke, 3d part, fol. 98. b. is cited, and the record begins, "Midd'x. Constat quod D'nus Philippus et D'na Maria," &c. The report cites fol. 199.

The Chancellor's Serjeant had £. 18. 5s. *per annum*, or 1s. *per diem*, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. See Defid. Cur. I. 51.

P. 72. I cannot close this article without observing how much the dignity of the Speaker's Mace fell and rose again in a very short interval. When Oliver Cromwell turned the members of the House of Commons out of doors, A. D. 1653, he said to one of the soldiers, "Take

* Christopher Wray, miles, conslit. Capitalis Justic. T. R. (i. e. Teste Rege) apud Westm. 8 Nov. Pat. 16 Eliz. p. 9. A. D. 1574. [Obiit 8 Mail. An. 1591.] Dugdale's Chronica, p. 94.

away that fool's bauble," meaning the Speaker's Mace *. The Usurper, nevertheless, consigned it to an Officer to be safely kept †; and though the power of the Mace was then fallen so low, we shall soon see it aggrandized by the very same authority that treated it with so much contempt, when it was to answer the designs of the Despot.

P. 76. By an order of Council, June 5, 1649, for regulating the ceremonial among the Chiefs of the Commonwealth, at their meeting, and after sermon going to dinner at Grocers Hall, on June 7, 1649, being the day of Thanksgiving appointed for suppressing the Levellers, "At the entrance of the gate leading to Grocer's Hall the Sword was ordered to be delivered by the Lord Mayor to the Speaker as soon as he arrives there, who is presently to re-deliver the same; and the Lord Mayor is to carry it before the Speaker and Members of Parliament to Grocers Hall." Peck's Appendix to the Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 53. From Dr. Nalfon's Collections, Vol. XVI. N. 7. It is to be presumed here that the Speaker had his own Mace borne.

The House had previously ordered, that "when the Speaker, with the House, do come into the City, the Lord Mayor should deliver up the Sword to him, as he used to do to the King; and that at the Feast the Speaker should sit above the Lord Mayor." Idem, from Whitelocke, p. 406. What a change! The fool and his bauble, a little while ago, went for nothing; and are now every thing.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge, 1564, the Mayor delivered the Mace (and a cup of nineteen pounds value, with twenty old angels in it), to her Majesty; which she received, and re-delivered the Mace to the Mayor, who rode before the Queen bareheaded, carrying the Mace. Desid. Cur. II. 263.

* Whitelocke's Memorials.

† Lord Clarendon.

THE END OF PART V.

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